

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

VOLUME I.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER III.

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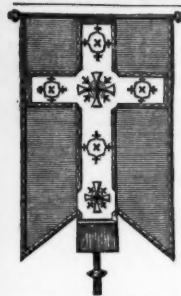
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SOME PRESENT QUESTIONS IN EVANGELISM.

IN representing to our own minds the aggressive work of the Church it is not wise to discard the words through which Christianity announced its presence and purpose in the world. The spirit of Christianity resides in them and cannot be transferred without loss. In the exigencies of Christian doctrine new terms may be adopted for greater security. Orthodoxy is doubtless a stronger and firmer expression, in the thought of some, a better intrenchment of the faith, than any term which is simply expressive of what is evangelical. But no term can suffice in Christian service which loses anything out of the thought of Christianity as an evangel. The joy, the hope, the courage, the obligation which came in with the Christian message must be perpetuated in the common and familiar speech of the Church. The words which guard Christianity in its spirit and purpose are as necessary and sacred as those which guard its doctrine. Let Evangelism be kept in its place in the Christian vocabulary. We have no broader, more courageous, more hopeful word, none which expresses so well the intention of Christianity.

We are not, however, specially concerned with the defense of names. Evangelism has been taken as the most comprehensive and fit term to represent the outward and aggressive work of the Church, including missions.

It is evident that many of the more perplexing and sensitive questions which now occupy the Christian thought lie within this department. Some of these are questions purely of method; others reach back into the sphere of doctrine. We can hardly hope to do more within the limits of this article than to indicate the direction and scope of some present questions in Evangelism.

According to statistics, with which the Christian public is be-

coming thoroughly familiarized, we are living in a period of unprecedented growths to Christianity. The facts cited are quite overwhelming. But statistics do not and cannot accurately tell us what part of the gain of the Church is from expansion and what by aggression. And unless this question be raised, we shall naturally give too much credit to the evangelistic or missionary temper of the present generation. By far the most important fact since the Reformation, in its religious bearings, is the increase of the Anglo-Saxon race. Numbering about seven millions at the landing of the Pilgrims, and having but little more than doubled the number at the American Revolution, to-day there are a hundred millions, —

“Who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake ; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.”

Christianity is in possession of this race. Not only does it take its natural increment, it has the advantage of its adventurous, migratory, organizing energy. Christianity goes everywhere with its speech and laws. Its colonies take with them their religious inheritances, and the peoples which come under its rule are at least made familiar with Christian institutions. No one can doubt the present advantage to missions from the presence of England in India.

Such a fact as this of the natural increase and spread of the race which now carries Protestant Christianity cannot be overlooked in any large discussion of the subject of Evangelism. That Christianity is at present under great momentum, and that progress is going on in all directions, no one can deny. The immediate question, however, is, whether the Church is making equal progress at those points which can be carried only by aggression. The sharpest problems of Evangelism lie just where the line hesitates and wavers. Here the questions of method are most urgent.

Let us look, to begin with, into the evangelistic work of the Church in cities. That the church of the city should be strong and influential follows almost of necessity. It grows with the better growths of the city itself. But what of the gains beyond these growths, and by what methods are they secured. The chief reliance thus far has been upon the mission. A church establishes and in part supports a chapel in a needy neighborhood, or a larger organization, usually denominational, carries on the work through a system of chapels. The results of this method have been most

satisfactory to the Church and to the city. No inconsiderable part of the membership of the Church is to be found in these chapels, and wherever they have been planted the character of the neighborhood has been radically changed. So thoroughly has New York been enveloped by this net-work of missions that no large localities can longer be found corresponding to the original Five Points. But manifestly, this method is becoming quite insufficient. It will remain a permanent factor in Christian work, but it must be supplemented from above and from below. The city is fast developing a population which falls socially between the church and chapel. The chapel cannot reach up to it. The church must reach out to it, if it is to be reached at all. But even the stronger churches are not prepared or furnished for this work. The ministry is not sufficient for it. Protestantism is becoming lavish in its institutions, but it is niggardly in its employment of men. There is a waste here, a want of economy, which needs only to be stated to be seen. A city church well placed represents a valuation of from fifty thousand dollars to a half million. But for the use of this property one man is employed. What can he do beyond ministering to the spiritual wants of a stated congregation, through the two preaching services of the Sabbath, with a corresponding amount of pastoral service during the week? Such a disproportion between the capital invested and the force employed to make it available, would not be tolerated in any business. And while this disproportion remains, the churches cannot become in any large sense evangelistic. Remove the disproportion by the increase of service, and the churches become of necessity evangelistic. Let any church of large property be furnished with a ministry corresponding to its investment and it will straightway become a centre of evangelistic influence. Preaching can be carried on continuously, supported by all proper agencies and activities. It will not be necessary for the Church to go out into halls and tabernacles when it has learned how to use its own property and its own advantages. Romanism maintains its power over the masses because it employs a force sufficient for its work. The Episcopal Church is growing in numbers and influence in the cities through the same wise economy in the use of men. If it is to become, as some predict, the church of the city, it will not be because of its social position, or from the attractions of its liturgy, or for the freedom of its faith, but because it is organizing itself more thoroughly, studying more carefully the use of its means, and providing a

more abundant ministry than any other Protestant denomination.

But the mission work of the Church needs also to be supplemented from below. The city is beginning to discover a deeper depth than that into which the mission has reached. "The bitter cry of outcast London" is more bitter than the cry which comes up as yet from the outcast of our own cities. But there is a cry in the air to which we cannot close our ears. We have not reached the question which the "London Spectator" has recently discussed in all seriousness, whether there is an "ultimate residuum" in our cities, a class intent on returning to barbarism, in respect to which the "chief hope is that as civilization filters down it will die out." But there is "a residuum" among us, and it is increasing. Civilization in its processes of refinement is precipitating too many dregs. The lowest are falling lower just as fast as the highest are rising higher. We have now a social grade in our cities, hardly a remove from the level of barbarism, with the disadvantage of a grinding civilization above it. Religious effort by the ordinary methods is useless on this grade. To separate a child for a few hours on the Sabbath from his vile surroundings is only playing with the problem. The religious duty here is nothing less than the systematic and permanent invasion of the tenement house. Every tenement house must be made a parish. Philanthropy may build better homes, but men and women must be taught how to live in them. As far back as 1866, Miss Octavia Hill laid down the general principle which all competent testimony has since confirmed, — "You cannot deal with the people and their houses separately. Transplant the people to-morrow to healthy and commodious homes and they would pollute and destroy them. The principle on which the whole work rests is, that the inhabitants and their surroundings must be improved together." The "improvement of the inhabitants" is the work of the Church. It cannot be effected by agents. It requires missionaries. The call is of precisely the same nature as that which summoned men and especially women at the close of the war to work among the freedmen, as that which summoned those of an earlier generation to work among the tribes of the Pacific. The work to be done is precisely the same, — to create the home. The most serious interference of the city with the religious life is by the disturbance of the home relation. Among the lowest classes it is obliterating the home. Christianity must restore it or confess its failure in presence of the rapid and ruthless march of modern civilization.

Turning our attention to the evangelistic work of the Church in the country at large, we find a like change of conditions. The Home Missionary movement was originally simply the extension of the Church to meet the expansion of the country. Societies were organized to follow up the emigration into new fields. These societies were protective associations — sometimes so administered as to guard from other denominational foes quite as much as from the world. They were great constructive agencies. They laid the foundations of society and of state. They built schools and colleges. They were the formative and shaping influence in the new country. And all this work was one of sacrifice, attended with hardship, and not infrequently illuminated with acts of heroism. But it was not strictly evangelistic. The movement was within the Church, utilizing its growths in numbers and wealth, reproducing its doctrine and polity and life. It was a work upon the native stock, trained for the most part to habits of religious thought and belief. The change which is now taking place is toward more direct evangelistic effort. The religious occupancy of the country has been practically settled. There will probably be little change in the relative position of the various denominations. The struggle for position will naturally become less violent. Competition will grow less as the country thickens in population. It may yet be found that none too many churches have been organized, when the skeleton army which now holds the vast Western field is filled up to its natural proportions. Comparing the number of church organizations in the Congregational body with the entire membership, the comparison taken between the years 1860 and 1880, it appears that, on the whole, a church represents more members now than then.

The demand for an advance from a constructive to a more aggressive policy comes from the introduction of entirely new elements into the population. In a sermon entitled, "The Modern Migration of Nations," preached shortly before his death by the Rev. Charles Terry Collins, of Cleveland, Ohio, the "danger and duty" of the Church is set forth with great distinctness. The danger from the foreign population distributed through the Western cities and states is not simply from numbers, though the increase is far greater than it is commonly understood to be. The danger is from habits of irreligion and immorality, from false theories of duty and life, from secret organizations which perpetuate these theories and habits, and from a press hostile to religion and morality. It is a hopeful sign that the moral senti-

ment of the Church can be so fully aroused as in the present temperance movement throughout the West. It is a still more hopeful sign that the Church is seeking, through its national societies, to penetrate this outside mass, that schools are being established, missions formed, and competent men set apart for the special direction and furtherance of the work. American Christianity is evidently about to pass through its severest test. Can it meet and overcome this invasion of the irreligion of Europe? Will it be able to convert and assimilate the new and alien elements which endanger its supremacy? The question is one of disposition and purpose. It is also one of method.

In reference to the evangelistic work of the Church abroad, its foreign missions, it were futile to enter here into any discussion of method. Each mission has its own problems, requiring accurate and technical knowledge for any intelligent discussion. A general suggestion may have an indirect bearing upon method. There is a growing desire and expectation among many of the most ardent friends of missions that Christianity may soon declare itself more manifestly as a power from *within* some one of the greater races. It is not expected or desired that Christianity may possess itself of these races as Mohammedanism is possessing itself of the feebler races. Nor is it expected or desired that Christianity should repeat the history of its own earlier conquests. The conversion of India or China by existing methods is a far deeper and holier work than the present conquests of Mohammedanism or the past conquests of Christianity. But the process of growth by individual accretions to the Church always waits to be taken up into some movement of a race toward Christianity. Missionaries from without precede, but cannot long fill the place of an apostle from within. Certainly Christianity must be naturalized before it can be permanent. Christianity cannot hold the race which it does not thoroughly possess.

Doubtless something of the interest which has been taken in Chunder Sen and in the Brahmo Somaj is due to the hope of seeing a native Christianity in India. Judged by any ordinary estimates, the results of the Somaj are unsatisfactory. They are uncertain and insufficient. Even the authorized utterances of the able exponent of the movement, recently in this country, left one in doubt as to its direction and issue. But the fact that Christianity in the person of Christ has been able to impress itself so strongly upon the Indian mind is most significant. It raises the hope that Christianity may yet make its own way into the life of

India and work out through the vast spiritual energies of its people. Of course, the indirect bearing of this hope upon the method of missions is toward the largest development of the native mind, and the largest trust in its capacity for Christianity. The position of the mission boards in matters of detail is not unlike that of the English government in reference to the civil service of India. The tendency of events in either case is toward a larger share on the part of the natives in the administration of affairs.

The relation of Evangelism to current investigations and discussions in Christian doctrine cannot as yet be fully measured. But there are certain considerations affecting it which it is time to state and emphasize. The large question here is that of adjustment. The relations of Evangelism to Theology are not arbitrary but natural.

One consideration is to the effect that Evangelism may not wisely assume to direct theological investigations or discussions, or to prescribe their limits. The attempt is made whenever the argument from effect or impression is used too freely in the supposed interest of Evangelism. The argument from effect is an argument from opinion, not from fact. The fact is that piety has always adjusted itself to "improvements in theology." The most earnest and serious thinking leads the way into more natural believing and working. It is not long since the majority of devout Christians held, and were content to hold, the doctrine of verbal inspiration. To-day the majority of Christians, equally devout, are able to pray better and to work better under a broader and more natural theory of inspiration. To affirm, therefore, that biblical criticism, in its present work, is hostile to Evangelism is simply to express an opinion against the argument from analogy. More serious use may be made of the argument from impression, because the appeal can be made to actual results. Popular impression is easily created. It is an echo which, under favorable conditions, reverberates according to the strength of the cry which starts it. If the alarm raised is just, it will prevail to largely avert the danger; if it is unjust, it will react. And the result will depend entirely upon the fact whether the belief which has been disturbed or the doctrine which it is sought to modify was producing upon any number of minds a wrong or insufficient impression. The argument from impression is a two-edged argument. A given belief, as stated in doctrine, may be so held as to suppress some necessary factor of belief in the Christian consciousness. Nothing is more harmful than such a suppression. It invariably pro-

duces a partial and one-sided development in faith and in works, if persisted in after the suppressed element begins to clamor for expression and recognition. The question is, then, not simply what impression will be produced if the given doctrine is restated, but what impression will be produced if the doctrine is not restated; what will be the effect upon the Church of the attempt to hold down or to hold back any truth, however related to its activities, which demands a fair and patient hearing. We cannot understand too plainly that any truth, however antagonistic it may at first seem to be, to any existing doctrine or motive, is far less dangerous, when once declared and acknowledged in its rightful place, than when ignored, evaded, or ecclesiastically suppressed. Here was the moral ground of the discussion of the last year upon "Essential Christianity," which some friends of missions at the time deprecated, but of which many now see the bearing, if not the value. No better, and, as it appeared from the result of the Council, no more acceptable statement has been made upon this point than in the paper submitted as supplementary to his statement of faith by the Rev. Edward A. Lawrence, at his recent installation at Syracuse, N. Y.

"The Christian consciousness of the Church seems to be adjusting itself between two different truths unreconciled, but not irreconcilable. One of these is the urgency of the gospel, by which the necessity of an instant decision and the danger of delay are pressed upon all who hear it. The other is the universality of the gospel, according to which Christ comes as the Saviour of the world, and the gospel is destined to be offered to the world. It is not long since the Christian consciousness of the Church was occupied in adjusting itself to two other truths which are hard to reconcile, — to the free will of man and the supreme predestinating will of God. The former of these was a matter of immediate, practical importance; the latter was essential to a correct idea of the sovereignty of God. The adjustment has been reached not by ignoring or weakening either truth, but by firmly holding each in its own sphere, and seeking the reconciliation in the life rather than in the mind. Dangerous as is either, if held alone, if held together they correct and supplement each other. It is something the same with these truths of the urgency and the universality of the gospel. The former is a pressing, practical truth; the latter is essential to a correct understanding of God's character and the gospel's mission. The former is insisted upon throughout the Bible; the latter is implied in its whole drift and spirit. Christ is presented as the Saviour of the world, the cosmic Saviour, the only, and, in spirit, the universal Saviour. I regard his work, therefore, and the gospel's mission as coextensive with God's system of human probation. Not that

all men necessarily are put upon probation, as, for instance, infants and idiots, but that every human probation culminates as a gospel probation here or elsewhere. . . . The gospel appears to me from its whole character to be sufficient for all, provided for all, destined for all. And no one can live in the spirit of Christ without seeking to contribute this offer of the gospel to all men."

The author of the statement from which this extract is taken concludes by saying that, as a minister, he should use it apologetically rather than aggressively. To which the remark may be added, that in times like our own the apologetic and aggressive work of the Church go hand in hand. There is an evangelism of the school, as well as of the field. Scholarship has its conflicts as real and as serious as those which are waged on more conspicuous battle-fields. And the same liberty in the choice of ground and weapons should be allowed here as elsewhere, without dictation and without interference.

A second consideration is that Evangelism has never followed the theology of any sect or school independent of circumstances. Sometimes it has worked in harmony with the ruling theology; sometimes it has antagonized it. More frequently than otherwise it makes use of the unaccepted, unacknowledged, unrecognized truth. Whenever a belief becomes hard and formal, Evangelism goes over into the belief which is free and vital. And the earnest men of the sects and schools follow it, though they thereby cross their own doctrinal paths. Consistency gives way before necessity.

The Calvinist ceases to be such in the presence of a dead Calvinism, and the Arminian, in the presence of a dead Arminianism. John Wesley, coming in upon the naturalism and formalism of the English Church, preached everywhere and continuously the necessity of the power of the Holy Spirit. Standing for the last time in the university pulpit at Oxford, he repeated and repeated the direct, personal question to his audience: "Are you filled with the Holy Ghost? In the fear and in the presence of the Great God, before whom you and I shall shortly appear, I pray you that are in authority over us, whom I reverence for your office, to consider, are you filled with the Holy Ghost." Charles G. Finney, coming in upon the formal and helpless Calvinism of his time, preached as continuously the responsibility and power of the individual sinner. His course through the Middle States was a campaign against the doctrines of human inability and original sin. His favorite text was, "Make to yourselves a new

heart and a new spirit; for why will ye die?" And Dwight L. Moody, coming in upon a generation permeated with ideas of law, with its religion tending to legalism, is himself aflame with the idea of personality. His theme is not simply the love of God. It is God — God living, working, sacrificing for man, searching after man, a persistent, personal presence round about every man's life.

The history of Evangelism is that of consistency with a principle rather than with a doctrine. And the bearing of this fact upon present issues is that the theology of Evangelism is not to be determined by the traditions of any school, but by immediate necessities. The appeal so often made to the past is misleading, because indiscriminating. The "old ways" are various. All that can be said is that Evangelism is always to be found in the truth or doctrine most necessary to the time. And applying this principle to our own time, few will doubt the fitness of locating its power in those truths which centre in the personality of God.

A third consideration is that Evangelism, specially as it finds expression in missions, demands the support of the most Christian motives.

The supreme question in missions is in regard to the motives which are to rule the churches of England and America. Missionary organizations may live upon organization. But the missionary spirit lies back in the region of motives, in the spiritual truths which actually control the Christian consciousness. Where are we to look for the motives commensurate with the present demands of Christian missions? Not, if we may judge by the recent utterances of its authorized exponents, within the sphere of natural theology. In a book which has passed into several editions and been indorsed by many writers of most pronounced beliefs — a book certainly of great force and beauty of argument — we have this as the conclusion of a theology which is after the "analogy of nature."

"The broad impression gathered from the utterances of the Founder of the Spiritual Kingdom is that the number of organisms to be included in it is to be comparatively small. The outstanding characteristic of the new society is to be its selectness. 'Many are called,' said Christ, 'but few are chosen.' And when one recalls on the one hand the conditions of membership, and on the other observes the lives and aspirations of average men, the force of the verdict becomes apparent. The analogy of nature upon this point is not less striking, it may be added, not less

solemn. It is an open secret, to be read in a hundred analogies from the world around, that of the millions of possible entrants for advancement in any department of nature, the number ultimately selected for preferment is small. Here also, 'Many are called and few are chosen.' The analogies from the waste of seed, of pollen, of human lives, are too familiar to be quoted."¹ This is the theology of exclusion for the multitudes, of despair for the race. There is no more gospel here than in Mr. Darwin's words, — "Multiply, vary, let the strongest live, and the weakest die."

The "analogy of nature" may put a deist into a dilemma, but it cannot inspire a Christian believer. Christianity refuses to be caught and expressed in analogies. There is no equivalent in nature for redemption. There is no suggestion of it. The tendencies are opposite. Interpret nature as a final system and there are more contradictions than resemblances. Nature is partial; it loves the best. Christianity is impartial; it loves all. Nature wastes; it deals with men as with "seed and pollen." Christianity conserves; it seeks to save the lost. Nature works toward a far off end, in the "survival of the fittest." Christianity works by the way, and keeps its gains. "Those that Thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost save the son of perdition." The motive to missions evidently lies, not in the conclusions of nature, but in the hopes of the gospel; not in the indifference of law, but in the anxieties of love. In the interest of missions we need the most Christian conception possible of God and of man. It is a serious question whether we have a theology Christian enough to maintain and complete the work before us. Certainly the conception of the person and work of Christ, upon which the New Testament bases its commands and its predictions, is greater and more glorious than that which finds expression in the common thought and speech of the Church. As the New Testament carries up and carries back the thought of Christ from his humanity to his divinity, from the scenes of his earthly life to those of the heavenly, it nowhere breaks his connection with man. He was identified with the race before He was born into it or suffered for it, for He made it. All things, including man, were created in Him and by Him and for Him. And having now returned to the sphere of his creative energies, He is at work with the same authority and power in the building up of his kingdom.

If Christian missions are to stand forth as the chief representa-

¹ Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, pp. 410, 411.

tive of Christianity, they must represent to the Church and to the world the fullness of its idea, the reach of its power, and its unconquerable hope.

Wm. J. Tucker.

OF THE HOLY LAND.

WHEN our Lord said that the hour was coming in which the Father should be worshiped neither in Gerizim nor in Jerusalem, there was a strange sound in the words, and it seemed unlikely that they would be proved true. The years have brought their fulfillment. The mountain has been deserted by worshipers, and in the city the mosque casts its baneful shadow over all the altars. He meant more than this. He did not propose to exclude these places from the kingdom which was coming, but that worship should no longer be rendered exclusively or especially at these conspicuous and contending shrines, but should be extended through the whole earth. This design has been to a large degree accomplished, and its completion is the duty which now presses upon those who are called after his name. The work would be far simpler and easier than it is, if the spread of Christianity had been its extension merely, and not its removal from the places where it was first established. In widening the circumference the centre has been abandoned, until now a great part of our missionary work is the recovery of ground which has been lost. It is not meant, of course, that Christianity was ever in complete possession of the lands in which it was first received; but that it had a prominence and power, a life and hope, which have been surrendered, to the incalculable harm of the Church of Christ. It is with sadness that we think upon the needless losses, the unwarranted surrender of ground, the reproachful decline of strength and influence, which have marked the centuries by which we are separated from the time when the Church was young and full of spirit. It is with deeper pain that one goes from a country into which Christianity has reached, and where it is visible and dominant, strong in itself and imparting strength to others near it and in the regions beyond, to the land which, in his thought, is associated with the sacred names and sacred events in which his faith rests. "Neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem," seems to be written over all the land. Yet we still call it the Holy Land. We connect the Book which we reverence with the land in which

it had its origin. Perhaps we overestimate the closeness of this connection. The two men whose life and work hold the chief place among the men of the Bible did not live in Palestine. One of them did not enter Palestine, and the other had his principal work outside of that country. Yet that was the country of our Lord, and within its boundaries his earthly life was passed, and there his teachings were given and his works were wrought, and there, too, He redeemed the world. All parts of the land were hallowed by his presence. In Judæa were his birthplace and his grave. There He was crucified, and there He rose from the dead. In Galilee most of his years were spent; while in Samaria He made himself known and declared his promises of grace. His ministry reached to the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and He crossed the Jordan that He might teach in Perea. These facts are sufficient to endow the land with an interest which no other can claim. It is not an extravagance of rhetoric to term it the Holy Land. Its natural features remain as in the days to which the mind reverently reverts. The mountains keep their old places and the same valleys lie among them. The river still hurries from sea to sea. The waters of Galilee are among the hills as when they were trodden by the feet of the Christ, and quieted by his voice. But beyond the things which are not readily changed little of the old remains. Many places which were made renowned by his presence cannot now be identified. Three places claim to have been the site of Capernaum. Two places assert their right to the name of Cana and to his first miracle. More than one mountain is pointed out as that upon which He sat when He spoke his Beatitudes. Some places have perished. A few ruins only can be found where Capernaum and Bethsaida stood. Some towns preserve their name and keep their ancient place, while the glory of the place and the name has departed. Bethlehem is a town of five thousand inhabitants who live by agriculture, and by the manufacture of wood and stone and pearl into crosses and rosaries. But there is no sign of angels in the air, and no star rests above the hill. In vain would wise men from the East seek there the King of the Jews. A church stands over the cave in which the infant Saviour was laid, and infidel soldiers keep peace between the disciples of the Prince of Peace.

Nazareth is a busy modern town, with its telegraph, its steam mills, and its road to the sea-coast. Its appearance is far more pleasing than that of other places. Its white houses present a fine picture as they stand among the trees. But the things which one

would wish to see there are not to be found. The house of the Virgin was saved from Moslem desecration by the angels, who carried it to Dalmatia, and then to Italy. It is not certain that she sat by the pillar which remains, when the angel of the annunciation found her. It is difficult to believe that the small cave beyond was a part of her house. The women who are now found with their pitchers at the Virgin's fountain do not resemble the image of her which art has delighted to depict.

Bethany consists of some forty hovels which are occupied by Moslems. The streets are filled with importunate beggars, whose appearance seems to justify their claim to charity. All which makes the Bethany of the Gospels attractive has long since disappeared. The house of Mary and Martha has gone and no other is in its place. The tomb of Lazarus is exhibited, but it is by a weary descent that it is entered, and little is found to reward the pains. The Mount of Olives retains its place and its name, and a few trees, covered with gnarled and wrinkled centuries, grow where the garden was in which the Lord endured his agony. The summit from which He ascended is now crowned with imposture and impiety.

It has fared even worse with Jerusalem. The great and proud city of better days is under ground. A motley throng is in the streets of the new town, and there is little in the people or their pursuits to remind one of the men of the older day and the thoughts which engrossed their minds. There are few things, besides the hills and valleys, which are truly named. Devout Jews mourn over the desolation of their city and wet the stones of the temple-wall with their tears. But there are none to sing, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King." The crescent is true where so much is false, for night is brooding over the city.

It is certain that our Lord did not wish to connect himself closely with places. What He did on the day when he wrote upon the sand He was doing every day. He passed through the land, but He left few footprints. He is not found amid the scenes which once knew Him. Jacob's well is still seen, but He is not there. The snows are glittering on Hermon, but there is no transfigured Christ. The Jordan rushes on its way as when He was baptized, but the heavens are not opened above it. The hills remain about Nazareth, but the boy and the man cannot be seen wandering over them, and gazing off towards Carmel and the great sea beyond. Clearly He did not mean to make Palestine the altar

and sanctuary of the world, where He was to be found and worshiped. He lives, but "He is not here, for He is risen, even as He said."

Is it, then, of any advantage to visit the Holy Land? Does it add anything to the sum of useful knowledge, or deepen religious impressions, or bring one into closer fellowship with Him who chose that land for his own? All this it may do; all this it may fail to do. The result depends largely upon a right understanding of the purpose of his life and a true conception of the conditions under which He sought to accomplish it.

It is of great interest to visit the Holy Land. It is an old land, which has filled an important place in the history of the world. From it have come forth influences which are now felt in all the earth. Men who have impressed themselves deeply upon human thought have been born there. If we trace to its sources that which we proudly call civilization, which includes our liberty and our hope; our homes, schools, governments; our art, science, business, we are carried back, past Italy and Greece, to the narrow land which lies between the Jordan and the Sea. Small in extent it is, as we see it on the map, but large, as we mark its position in the life of the world. History is studied to little purpose unless the study includes that which was done in Palestine. It is a significant fact, which may serve as an index-finger in our reading and thinking, that every book of history must reckon the time of its events from the day which made Bethlehem great. The merchant dates his invoice, the government its treaty, the mother her letter, from that time when He was born who was to be a light for the Gentiles and the glory of Israel. It must always be, therefore, with a peculiar and profound interest that an intelligent man journeys from the West to stand in the midst of Jerusalem, or to tread the narrow streets of Bethlehem and Nazareth. He should be able to see through that which now is to that which was. Little disturbed by the men of to-day, he should be able to see those of a better generation, and to hold communion with them and with their deeds. What is seen now should not destroy or conceal the reality and importance of that which, in other times, was of larger consequence. To be thus independent of his surroundings must characterize the thought of one who would find in Palestine that which would repay him for his journey.

Whatever he may seek there, he should not expect there to find the Christ. It is not merely that He has returned to the skies,

for He might have left unchanging memorials of his presence, so that He would seem nearer than in any other land. But in truth there are more memorials of Him in many other lands. His name is more common, his influence more potent, his spirit more prominent, his words more familiar, his friends more numerous than they are where He made his home on earth. The record of his life is in our hands, and while we read it we hear his words and behold his miracles. He is not teaching and working in his visible presence now, and the past is as near to us here as to those who dwell where He was, or wander along the roads over which He walked in his ministries of mercy. Indeed, we have around the record of his life associations which are far more favorable to the understanding of his words and the appreciation of his wonderful works than those which would be found in the places where He lived and blessed. In our churches, which bear his name, in our Christian schools and homes, in our Christian charities, are found the conditions which make reading and believing easy and pleasant. The incidents of our Lord's life are more impressive as we study them here, where his power is felt, than even in the scenes where they had their place, and where a change has passed upon everything.

We read with solemn interest the account which is given of the raising of Lazarus. We enter into the feeling of his sisters when they send to the one friend who could help them the tidings that their brother, whom He loved, was sick. We come with the Lord to the overshadowed home. We listen to the despairing cry of Martha, and mark the quiet spirit of Mary. We go out to the grave and stand with the mourning company. We see the tears of Jesus. We hear Him cry with a loud voice and summon the dead to life. The dead comes forth as we watch, and takes up life again. And still we hear his voice beside the bed of death, and before the closed sepulchre, where our heart is lying, dying or entombed, and the words are full of promise and of triumph, "I am the resurrection and the life."

But try to recall this incident, which is so rich and precious, on the spot to which the narrative conducts us. "This is the tomb of Lazarus," is the formal announcement of the guide. For a price the door is opened above the stone stairs, and the visitor, with a candle in his hand, gropes his way painfully over the worn and broken steps to the rude chapel where Moslems and Christians come for prayer; and bending low, he creeps through a narrow passage into the small chamber where Lazarus was laid,—if

tradition is to be credited, — and out of which he was called. It may have been his resting place, but he is not in it now, and he is not issuing from it. The dreariness and discomfort of the place and the access to it are not favorable to devout contemplation; and when the visitor has found his way back to the light, he is not greeted with the strong words of the Christ, or the rejoicing of the women, but with the harsher sound which from many lips breaks the silence of Bethany, "Bakshish, Howadji; Howadji, Bakshish." Is it, then, of any advantage to see the tomb of Lazarus? The place has its interest for any thoughtful person. But he must not expect to find the miracle there to-day, or the record of it on the rock, or the persons who witnessed it, or any memorial which adds anything to the simple narrative which an eye-witness wrote, and which has been preserved for our comfort and instruction. The visitor should begin with that. He should understand that which is essential and permanent in the miracle. With a clear apprehension of this, he will find profit in standing where this miracle, in which our life rests with assurance of hope, was wrought for our solace and support. For its actual benefit the Book is more than Bethany, and in its pages we find the days when the village of hovels was a village of homes. He should enter its steep streets with the Testament in his hand, as the only sufficient guide to the past which he seeks, and which lies far back of the dreary present which conceals it.

This which is said of one town may be said of all. It is the past which is sought and is not readily found. What the past was must be learned elsewhere. If it be true that the traveler there seeks the Christ, it is evident that he should be able to recognize Him when he sees Him, and that with confidence in the story of his years, he should search out the places where the life was made up. Let Christ be first known, and the land will be known in its turn, and the sight of the land will abound in interest.

It is with difficulty, however, that the Christ is set again in the places where he once moved. With our admiration of Him, and our conception of the beauty of his character; with our reverence, which surrounds his head with a halo, and makes his garments glisten, it is difficult to imagine him in Nazareth, walking day by day in its streets, wearing the garb of its citizens, mingling with them in the affairs of the world, reckoned by them as the carpenter's son. He seems out of place. The more fully we realize that He was there, and in this estate, the more do our admiration

and adoration suffer a shock. He seems to be brought down to the level of the men who are now seen in the city where he lived, and we ask if one good and great could have come from Nazareth. To the calm, enlightened mind the trouble is but momentary. The record of his life adjusts all that we see to all which we have believed. Doubtless one great and good could enter into Nazareth, and it is that which history asserts. He is presented, not as the outgrowth of Nazarene life, but as one who came down from heaven to dwell among men.

Our imagination may have created an ideal world for his dwelling-place: a fair setting for so fair a life. But nothing of this is taught us in the Book. He came down into the real world. He sought no smooth places for his feet, nor beautiful fields for his eyes. There was beauty in the land then, as now; and there was barrenness, too. He saw the wilderness and the fruitful fields; the thorns and the flowers; the good ground and the rocky hills. He changed none of these things by coming among them. The people were like their country. He found them in all their variety. Some were as rude and rough as the streets of Nazareth, and some were as pleasant as its vineyards. The spring clothes the land in living green. The autumn shows it bare and desolate. The spring and the autumn were many times repeated in the years which He spent there. What He saw in the country He saw in its people. If there was a greater desolation, it was in the people. Of the land we have had glimpses in his words; but the people are many times described. They were poor, captive, blind, bruised, as He named them in the synagogue at Nazareth. To John the Baptist He presented them as the blind, the lame, the lepers; as deaf, dead, and poor. He said that He had come to seek and to save that which was lost. He called sinners to repentance. He commanded that his gospel of deliverance should be preached to every creature. Why should one be surprised when he finds the blind and the lame, the leprous and the poor, the guilty and the dead, where He found them? Or offended because the land is like the men? The sight upon which the traveler looks to-day, the men and women whom he meets, the conditions under which the course of life is run, even now demand the coming of such an one as came in the time which has made the land holy. The need is clear. The want cries out from the ground. It is some help to a present faith to know that once there came a Saviour who was Christ the Lord. It is some help to the right apprehension of his coming to behold the need of Him; to see the wants

which He alone can meet. Thus the faith which was staggered as it looked hastily upon the people and their lives gathers confirmation to itself as it gazes into their poverty and remembers that He came to heal and to save.

In such surroundings, He stands forth in the grandeur of his presence and the glory of his power. He has no rival. There is no one with whom to compare Him. The world has raised up for itself no one who is like Him in holiness and strength. His acts are wonderful. The lame leap at his word, and from his fingers light flashes into nighted eyes. The dead hear Him and awaken. The sins of men are forgiven them. His words are wonderful. Abraham had rejoiced to see his day. All power He claimed for himself. "I am the Truth, I am the Life," He said. "I and the Father are one." He said that He would come in his glory and all the angels with Him. Think of Him in Bethlehem, Nazareth, Samaria; among the fallen stones of Capernaum, or above the buried streets of Jerusalem; saying such things in meekness and sincerity, and attesting the words by works which were in keeping with them! The history is clear, the land remains: this history and this land. To read the story of the life where the life was lived raises his character into grander proportions. We feel how great He was as we mark how high He towered above the country and the people.

It was into the world that He came. He did not seek to hal-low places, but to save the world. He was not to restrict his mercies within the bounds of Palestine. He erected no barriers; He set up no landmarks. He even declared that the Temple should fall, and that the city which it adorned should be destroyed. What He taught was for all lands. In his miracles was a blessing for all men. His redemption was for man, and He was the Son of Man. The traveler in Palestine remembers this, and is not disturbed because he cannot find the writing on the ground, or the boat from which Jesus taught the multitude upon the shore of Gennesaret. He knows that the Christ was in the world, and of the world this is but a small portion. He looks abroad to find the signs of his presence.

He remembers, also, that it was chiefly a spiritual power which Jesus asserted. His rule was to be in the hearts of men, and his kingdom was not of this world. He taught that God is a spirit and that man is a spirit. He promised living water which should spring up in the souls of men. He promised life itself. He traced actions back to the heart out of which they sprang, and

bade men be born anew that they might enter into the kingdom of God. For when He should come in his glory He would render unto every man according to his deeds. He said that it was expedient for his disciples that He should go away, and He promised them his presence after He had vanished from their sight. He would make his abode in their hearts. They were to repeat his gracious words everywhere, that all men might know the good-will of God. He loosed men from the material to set them in the spiritual. Not in Gerizim, but in spirit, not in Jerusalem, but in truth, was the Father to be worshiped. Thus did He widen his ministry and establish its blessings in the hearts of men for all lands, for all times. He who recalls these broad purposes is not amazed that he does not find the Christ transfigured upon Hermon, walking the waves of Galilee, resting at Jacob's Well, dying on Calvary; ascending from Olivet. These facts of the Lord's life remain, and retain all their truth. It is not necessary that He should be seen in them again. The spiritual intent of them is in Palestine and all lands. The power which worked for man's recovery is working now in all willing hearts. The power of the cross is not centred in the wood He died upon, but is everywhere present for the saving of the penitent. The promise of the angels still glorifies the mount from which He rose into the clouds. "This Jesus shall so come in like manner as ye beheld Him going into heaven," and that coming will be into the world and for the world. He who reads the New Testament learns these things and sees in them the purpose of the Christ. He knows for what to look when he is in the land where Jesus lived. If he is himself his disciple, the Lord goes with him in his journeying and repeats the familiar truths where they were first taught, and the man hears them with an attention enhanced by hearing them there. He has the secret of the Lord, and it is with him wherever he wanders. It hallows the land where the Lord walked. For him the land deepens the impression and enlarges the power of the truth which he holds, whose reality he knows.

It comes to this: to have the Christ in Palestine one must carry Him in his heart. The years since the Lord ascended have given the Spirit of the Lord to the world. He takes of the things of Christ and declares them unto men. In this way men come into the knowledge of Him. The might is not in mountains, the power is not in streams; the might and the power are in the Spirit of God. From Him they are to be received. The Lord left Palestine that He might be everywhere. Everywhere, therefore, can He be found.

But the spirit must find Him and receive Him, and He himself is spirit. Then with Him will it be good to visit the scene of his earthly years, and to hold communion with Him where once He was seen and was not known. Then, with the Christ in the heart, the land will be holy. The events of his life, in their spirit and truth, will be repeated for our advantage. Faith will have "its Olivet, and love its Galilee." To have this spirit and this word here would make this ground holy. To have them in all our wide domain would make this the Holy Land. Then there might be heard, above the clamor of men and the sounds of the world, the voice of them that cry, "The Lord bless thee, O habitation of justice and mountain of holiness."

Alexander McKenzie.

WEISS'S THEOLOGY.

DR. BERNHARD WEISS, of Berlin, is the first New Testament scholar of Germany. Many years ago Meyer, on being asked by a friend of the writer to mention some of the most promising of the younger exegetes, began with his name. Time has amply justified the great scholar's selection. Dr. Weiss has made contributions to the critical literature of the New Testament which, though in quantity and massiveness of learning falling short of those of Meyer, surpass in these respects those made by any living critic, and in scientific exactness have no superiors.

His "*Marcusevangelium*," and his "*Matthäusevangelium und seine Lucas-Parallelen*," apart from the distinctive value which they have as showing the relation of the synoptic Gospels to their common sources and to each other, take a high rank as commentaries. The lucid arrangement and the stimulating quality of his "*Biblical Theology of the New Testament*" (his most important work) prove the writer's mastery of his material to its most minute detail, and the exegetical discussions in its foot-notes show a master's hand. The fact that Dr. Weiss has been chosen by the literary executors of Meyer to revise, for the latest edition of the latter's Commentary, the volumes which embrace the books from Matthew to Romans inclusive, is in itself no insignificant proof of his position among critical students of the New Testament.

But Dr. Weiss is much more than a commentator. His most

valuable services to Christian science have not been rendered in elucidating the text of Scripture, but in combining its manifold teachings into a Biblical Theology which is, to use the language of a rectoral address which he delivered at Kiel in 1876, "the historical setting forth of those religious representations and teachings, which show themselves at the various stages of the history of revelation, out of the sources of this history." "These must not only show," he goes on, "a gradual development corresponding to the sources of this history; they must also be different from each other, since it belongs to the conditions of the spiritual life of the authors to vary. But because the religious life which comes to consciousness in these representations and teachings is begotten through the one progressive revelation, they must lead back to the one source, and so to the one being of God shown in the revelation, and to the conditions of the normal relation to Him; that is, the religious truth, as such, must show itself in them."

This representation of the biblical teaching in its historic connection and unity is a task which requires, besides exegetical skill, such historical gifts and training as will enable its possessor to trace the main thought of the sacred writer in its connection with his personality and the occasion of his writing, and, in the New Testament scholar, such powers of detecting and weighing delicate historical evidence as are required by that knottiest of problems, the composition of the synoptic Gospels. Dr. Weiss has said, in one of his published addresses, that a strong inclination drew him to this work in early youth; he has given to it the best energies of his life (he is now fifty-five); that his early predilection was a divine call, his published works bear witness.

His "Biblical Theology of the New Testament" is the only work in its department which adequately represents the branch of science to which it belongs, and is both in execution and design a work of the highest scientific value. His "Life of Christ" has a unique position, as being the only one based upon a thorough criticism of the Gospels; the author says, in the preface, that he has "for more than twenty years occupied himself (myself) with the sources of the gospel history; I have tested in all directions the methods of criticism which are often so intricate, until I have forced my way to perfect clearness regarding the history and the character of our evangelical tradition." Thus prepared, Dr. Weiss has undertaken to write what has certainly never before been written, a thoroughly historical representation of the life of our Lord. A critic in the January number of the "*Studien und Kritiken*"

has said that it has already won in Germany the first position among the biographies of Christ. Whether this indicates the verdict which the mature opinion of the theological public will pass upon the work is, perhaps, somewhat doubtful. It may be doubted whether Dr. Weiss has given its due place to that in our Lord which cannot be included in the materials of an historical sketch. The belief that his earthly career can be fully represented in its inception and progress from the inside, as well as in its external incidents, requires as its foundation a conception of his person, which certainly seems to conflict with some of our Lord's declarations about himself. Any attempt at writing his biography, in so far as it does not recognize something in our Lord's developing life beyond human analysis and delineation, is unscientific. Besides, as the German critic just alluded to rightly says, Dr. Weiss finds more evidence of historical connection in the words and deeds of Christ preserved in the apostolic tradition than actually exists. Yet, though the "*Leben Jesu*" may not be considered a successful undertaking, a fair criticism will assign to it a great value. Apart from the importance of its discussions of the "synoptic" problem and the authorship of St. John's Gospel, the Church is placed in a better position now that Strauss, Renan, and Keim have been followed by a writer of finer biblical scholarship than they, and at least equal critical power, who, while avowedly holding the evangelical instead of the rationalistic presupposition, applies to the sources the same laws of historical criticism which they claim to obey, and from them produces the picture of a divine Christ. And certainly Dr. Weiss's constructive skill and power of expression have enabled him to give the Christian reader a firmer and more bracing sense of reality in following Christ's life.

The aim of this article is to give a succinct account of Dr. Weiss's theology, if the term may be properly applied to the writings of one who confines himself to the historical sphere. The main results to which this leading evangelical scholar has been led by his long study of the structure and contents of the New Testament may be presumed to have some interest for the Christian public. Of course, these results are not presented as doctrine, in the strict sense, that is, as the absolute Christian truth. This is not possessed until the result of scriptural study has been tested and verified by the Christian reason, guided by the experience of the Church, — a task which lies outside of Dr. Weiss's department.

Nor is it assumed that this eminent scholar's views in all respects correctly represent the New Testament teaching. On the contrary, I believe that they are wrong in several important particulars. Yet it is claimed that they are well worth examination as indicating in a general way the nature of the contribution to the now rapidly crystallizing Christian theology which the Biblical study of the day is making. A word as to the method of presentation may not be out of place. It seems inexpedient to introduce here references to chapter and book. Accordingly, the writer ventures to ask confidence in his fidelity in giving a *résumé* of Dr. Weiss's conclusions as found in his "Biblical Theology," his "Life of Christ," several minor works and unpublished notes of his course of lectures on New Testament dogmatics, which a friend has kindly placed at my disposal.

To begin with our author's *πρὸς ὁμολογίαν*. What are the New Testament Scriptures to this student of Christianity in its living sources? For a general answer we have this statement in his biblical dogmatics: "The sources of the divine revelation of salvation are the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. These not only serve to give us authentic information about the facts in which the revelation takes place, but also to bring us into living contact with those facts; they are, therefore, God's Word to us, which is itself the only adequate testimony to us that it is God's Word. This does not imply that every separate book of the Bible belongs to this category. This can be definitively settled only by historical criticism."

Turning to Dr. Weiss's published writings to find his views of the several New Testament writings, we ask whether he accepts all the canonical books as authentic, and find that all are pronounced so, except the Second Epistle of Peter and the pastoral Epistles of Paul. As regards the former, Dr. Weiss considers the question as to its genuineness as still unsettled. That he believes the probabilities to be in its favor may be inferred from his giving its contents a place in his "Biblical Theology." With regard to the pastoral Epistles, he holds that to believe them to be genuine involves belief that certain events occurred in Paul's career (notably his release from his Roman imprisonment) and in the life of the Church, of which we have no evidence outside of the Epistles themselves; and that these are not so unmistakably Pauline as to establish both their own authenticity and the reality of the events whose existence they imply. Dr. Weiss believes, however, that if they are not from the Apostle's hand, and are there-

fore to be assigned to one of his disciples, they are written so fully in the spirit of his teaching as to be entitled to a place in the New Testament, having, for example, such a claim as that possessed by the Epistle to the Hebrews. I will say, *en passant*, that Weiss accepts the traditional view of the authorship of the Apocalypse, and believes that the peculiarities of the Epistle to the Hebrews can be best explained by assigning it to Barnabas.

In trying to enter more fully into our author's view of the connection between the canonical Scriptures of the New Testament and the life of the Apostolic Church, we find ourselves obliged at the outset to recognize a distinction between the didactic and the historical books. The former, as the composition of men who were qualified, by a special endowment of the Spirit, for the edification of the Church, bear the impress of the Holy Ghost in their structure, as the latter do not. The first class are inspired utterances; the second, narratives of fact. As regards the former, we have not to discriminate between the inspired teaching and the written composition, for the written composition is the inspired teaching; our task is simply to ascertain, if we may, its connection with God's redemptive Revelation; in regard to the latter, we have to separate between such spiritual teaching as it may contain and its narration of facts, and subject the latter to the same tests which historical service applies to all narrative.

Taking the second of these two kinds of sacred literature first in our discussion, Dr. Weiss finds in the synoptic Gospels, and, of course, in the Acts (St. John's Gospel, being a doctrinal treatise, stands in a different category), no further guaranty of accuracy than is furnished by the evident fidelity with which their authors used the means of information at their disposal (both oral tradition and written documents), and by their inner life being in such harmony with Christ, through the indwelling of his Spirit, as to make it impossible for them to attribute to Him any utterance discordant with the spirit of his teaching. This conclusion arrived at by a careful analysis of the process by which the synoptic Gospels, and, speaking broadly, the Acts, were put together, is confirmed by unessential yet unmistakable discrepancies in the several narratives. We have, indeed, no valid *a priori* reason for denying that the tendency which must have existed in the Apostolic Church to explain and fill out the miraculous facts of our Lord's life with legend has left signs of its existence in the gospel narratives; but we can trace the date of their composition to such near proximity to the facts (within thirty or forty years), as to feel confident that such evidences, if found at all, must be inconsiderable.

As regards the didactic literature of the New Testament, Dr. Weiss regards it as inspired in the strict sense, that is, written out of that endowment of the Spirit by which Christ qualified his servants to convey to men the salvation of which He was the centre and the goal. There is no distinction between their oral and their written utterances, except in so far as the act of writing might give the latter a more methodical and finished form. Each author's idiosyncrasy qualifies him to apprehend a separate phase of the revelation made in Christ, so that we have a distinct type of Christian doctrine in his teaching. This, of course, is not to be said of our Lord himself, whose flawless nature gave forth a perfect reflection of the truth. But this truth could not be presented by (Dr. Weiss thinks, as we shall presently see, that it could not have been fully disclosed to) Him before his resurrection. After his ascension the divine teaching which had Him as its sole source during his life parted into several streams. From each the water of life can be drank, none of them is absolutely purified from human imperfection; that is, the Scriptures present the revelation made in Christ fully enough to give to every unprejudiced reader of their contents a clear knowledge and full appropriation of it; at the same time they contain defective exegesis of Old Testament quotations and imperfect applications of spiritual laws to current events, such, for example, as St. Paul's identification of certain contemporaneous social phenomena, with the signs which usher in the second coming of the Son of Man. Though the several types of New Testament teaching complement, they do not correct, each other. They all set forth the same truths, viewed, in the case of each, from a different point of view, and together form a "documentary attestation of the revelation of God made in Christ's person and work, as it ought to be understood, and in its full saving value, — an attestation which is normative for all time." As regards St. John's Gospel, which, as has been said, Dr. Weiss classes with the doctrinal Scriptures of the New Testament, its authenticity can only be successfully defended by admitting the existence of a subjective element in it. And indeed the Gospel itself furnishes sufficient evidence that the author did not claim nor care always to report Christ's teachings in their historical form and connections, nor, indeed, to discriminate with absolute accuracy between that which he learned of Christ from our Saviour's lips and that which he was taught by his ascended Lord through the Spirit. In narrating the events which form the setting of the discourses which he attributes to our Lord, the Apostle is very accurate, so that his

Gospel, apart from its doctrinal value, is of inestimable service in harmonizing and correcting the synoptic Gospels into a consistent narrative.

We go on now to those great facts which at once underlie the Scripture and are the subject-matter of its teaching. Beginning with the chief and central one, we ask what, in our author's view, do the New Testament writings teach by their existence as historical products, and by their utterance concerning the person of Christ? That He was a divine Being, the second person of the Trinity, who entered into a human life by a miraculous act to work out the redemption of the race. Dr. Weiss finds the elements of the doctrine of the Trinity in the New Testament. The revelation of God which it contains professes to be a revelation of God, the Father, made through the Son. The Father is declared capable of being known, because the Son, his exact image, is the organ of his self-revelation. To give to man, who had lost his native knowledge of his Maker, through sin, a living fellowship with God, the Son became incarnate. This means that he subjected himself to the limitations of the human nature, as well as to the vicissitudes of an earthly lot. He not only toiled and suffered as men do, but thought and knew as they do. He possessed, to be sure, a unique knowledge of God; but it was a knowledge of the divine character resulting from his own purity, not an absolute knowledge of the divine essence such as the Eternal Son had before the incarnation. He had a supernatural insight into the human heart, but it was only one of the prophetic gifts bestowed in its highest degree on Him, to whom the Spirit was given without measure. He could see farther into the future than other inspired men; but this was not because he shared God's omniscience, but because he had a higher degree of the prophet's supernatural insight into the providential laws by which history shapes itself. He knew what would take place, not immediately, but by forecasting the result of moral and spiritual forces which were operating in and about him. Hence, his prescience was limited in degree as well as in kind, because the operation of moral and spiritual forces is conditioned upon man's free acts, which, lying as they do, outside the chain of causation, are foreknown only by God. He did not foresee Judas' apostasy when he chose him to be an apostle. He did not know, when He began his ministry, that his countrymen would reject Him. Indeed, Dr. Weiss holds that he could not have engaged in this labor with the zeal which it demanded, unless he had hoped that it would succeed; when the obduracy of his countrymen had

shown Him that they were not to be won to God by his preaching, and the fury of the Pharisees had taught Him that his fidelity to the truth would cost Him his life, the other way of setting up God's kingdom disclosed itself to Him. He saw that his death would have a power to win the people which his life had not, and that those of them who were susceptible to spiritual impression would be won by the preaching of his cross, and would be the true Israel, the centre of the divine kingdom, whose boundaries would eventually embrace all nations. It should be said that the limitation to which our Lord subjected himself does not, in Dr. Weiss's view, involve imperfect communication of the truth. As sinless, and so in absolute harmony with the mind of God, He could not believe error to be truth, much less represent it to be such.

Christ, as a real and proper man, must, in Weiss's view, have had to gain full moral symmetry and fixedness as other men gain it, by holy obedience to God. He never sinned, even in wish, but He became more truly holy as He went on resisting temptation and doing his Father's work. In saying to the rich young man "Why callest thou me good? No one is good save one; that is God," He puts his own ripening character below the absolutely and immutably holy divine nature. His agony in Gethsemane showed that He could not without a struggle be and do what his Father wished. The complete identification of our Lord's divine nature with his humanity appears in his conception of his relation to his people. He felt himself to be their Messiah; the member of the nation foretold by the prophets, in whom God's will should be perfectly fulfilled, and therefore capable of being, and called to be, the organ of God's full revelation and the centre of a true theocracy in which the divine will should be done as in heaven. This consciousness of his Messiahship was the most prominent feature of his self-consciousness. It was even the ground of his belief in his preexistence; for as He had laid aside the immediate knowledge of the divine essence which belonged to the eternal Son, He could only know that his existence did not begin with the earthly state by reflecting that as He had been consciously from childhood the object of God's special love, and, as such, chosen to be the organ of his revelation of himself to his people, he must have known God and been known by Him in another state of being.

As Christ's Messiahship was the central point of his consciousness, it must have been the central and dominating theme of his teaching. We are to bear this in mind in interpreting his words, and guard against putting an absoluteness into them which

they were not meant to have. So far as they contain principles, they are of eternal significance; but this significance is found by detaching the principle from the temporary and local investiture. Christ's predictions must be interpreted from his own point of view. As He told his disciples to expect his return to judge the world before the contemporaneous generation should have passed away, we cannot read in the parables of the tares and the mustard seed the prediction of a process of development to last for ages.

When our Lord had risen from the dead and laid aside the limitations of the earthly state, God's revelation in Him entered upon a new stage, and Christian truth was spoken by the Spirit through the Apostles with a fullness which should both stimulate the study and exceed the knowledge of the Church till the end of time.

It is this full disclosure of God's redemptive purpose in Christ which makes, strictly speaking, the gospel. The preaching of salvation through faith in the atoning death of a Divine Redeemer, rather than the setting forth of the earthly life and the words of Christ, has been "the power of God unto salvation" from the day of Pentecost until now.

"The fundamental facts of Christ's gospel," says our author, "can neither be contested nor established from the facts of the life of Christ. The central point of the apostolic preaching always remains this, that the expiatory significance of his death forms the fundamental presupposition for the new relation of the believer to God; that the abiding communion with the exalted Christ which is brought about by the communication of his Spirit fits the believer for a new religio-ethical life; that his rising from the dead is the pledge of our resurrection, and his approaching return the condition of the heavenly completion of salvation. These statements, however, are and remain quite independent of the historical question, whether and how far Jesus asserted or predicted these things."

In the Epistles of the New Testament, and especially in those of Paul, this apostolic preaching in its most fully developed form is preserved, and we go on to examine, with Dr. Weiss, the leading features of its presentation of Christ and the truths which centre in his person and work. It is natural to begin with Christology. What is the teaching concerning his person by which the risen Christ sums up, explains, and completes the lessons given in the deeds and words of his earthly life? That the eternal Son became the Son of Man, the divine nature uniting itself to the phys-

ical life of Jesus and subjecting itself to the intellectual and moral, as well as physical limitations which belong to every human life. In Dr. Weiss's penetrating representation of the Pauline Christology, our Lord is said to have had a human body and soul; while the higher element which the Apostle finds in man (the *voûs*) is replaced in him by the divine Spirit, dwelling in him as a divine substance. There is, however, during his earthly life, a contrariety (*ein relative Gegensatz*) between the divine and human natures which is not done away until the resurrection, when the divine (*πνεῦμα*) gains entire possession of and appropriates to itself the manhood, and Christ becomes, in the absolute sense, "the spiritual man."

This construction of the Pauline Christology would bring it into affinity with the kenotic view of the incarnation (that which regards it as consisting of a temporary humiliation of the divine Son into our condition, rather than as a full incorporation of our nature into his being). For the latter view has, as its presupposition, an assumed affinity between the Divine Being and the human soul which would make an essential union between them congenial to the nature of each. A "contrariety" between the human and the divine in Christ, requiring removal before our Lord can become the absolutely ideal man, implies the existence of perishable elements in the structure of our being. This inference is confirmed by Dr. Weiss's interpretation of Paul's anthropology, in which the human soul appears, not as in the Old Testament and the rest of the New Testament Scriptures as the immediate product of a divine creative act, but as propagated with the body, and so tainted with original sin. To be sure, in regeneration the soul receives a principle of life from the divine Spirit which ultimately dominates it, so that it reflects the image not of the first and earthy, but of the second and spiritual man. But our natural constitution is so identified with sin and corruption (if it be purely an inheritance) that this change involves rather being swallowed up in something better than ourselves than being freed from the taints and imperfections which mar the present self. The hope of immortality through Christ looks not toward such a change as this, but toward a recovery of all the faculties and powers which were our original birthright, and their full and harmonious development. And it is only as we see our whole nature to be immortal that we can see why Christ's humanity should exist in its completeness always. So this interpretation of Paul's teaching about man and man's Redeemer rules out the doctrine of an abiding union of perfect man-

hood with the eternal Word in one personality. We are told, it is true, that the body which the disciples saw and handled after the resurrection will be the organ through which Christ will continue to reveal himself, but the higher side of our nature will, it is implied, have been merged in the deity.

Without stopping to discuss this theory of the mode of the incarnation (a task entirely outside the purpose of this article), I would simply suggest that it is in great part based on a view of the Pauline anthropology which is chiefly supported by an inference made to construct the Apostle's teaching into a symmetrical whole. It may be added that defective though this Christology be, from the orthodox point of view, its defect lies on the human, not on the divine side. The limitations in our Lord which are spoken of above have no necessary connection with it. The doctrine of a full and eternal union between the human and the divine as expounded by Dorner does not exclude moral and intellectual limitations in Christ during his earthly life; rather is best maintained on the supposition of their existence.

We go on to examine our author's view of the apostolic teaching respecting Christ's sacrificial work. This is a development of our Lord's declaration that the new covenant is founded in his blood shed for the remission of sins. Christ's death, says Paul, was the propitiation by appointing which God made it evident that He had not been unholy in leaving human sin unpunished during the ages since the fall. By this is meant, of course, that as an act which revealed the morality of God's government in this respect, it vindicated its morality; not that it was a mere fact declaration — an acted apology which would have left the imputation unremoved. In what way Christ's death justified and so explained God's conduct in forgiving the sinner, Paul does not teach; he gives, however, a hint in this direction by calling it, in connection with its atoning virtue, an act of obedience. ("By the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.") If the Apostle does no more than intimate that the atoning virtue of Christ's death lay rather in the moral qualities which characterized it than in the amount of suffering which it involved, he does teach that in substituting this propitiatory sacrifice for the punishment of sin, God remitted that penalty. The theory that it was inflicted upon a substitute is excluded by a correct interpretation of the Apostle's language. The propitiatory effect of Christ's death was not, of course, in the Apostle's thought limited to the sins of the anti-Christian world. It effected a change in God's relations to the

race: "Now that Christ has died God has given up his enmity to men, which is, as it were, forced upon Him by the sin which rouses his wrath;" "the death of Christ stands for the death of all, save only those who reject the message regarding the reconciliation." Christ's redemption thus stands over against the ruin wrought by Adam, in respect to its universality, as an objective fact.

This is made vividly apparent by Paul's representation of the cosmical significance of Christ's redemptive work. In teaching "that the mystery of salvation was hid from eternity in God, who created the universe," he indicates "that the purpose of salvation is most closely connected with the plan of the world which began to be realized in creation, and that that purpose having been formed by the Creator before the creation of the world, was regulative even in its creation. Then the world must be grounded in Christ, the Redeemer; not only made by Him, but for Him, who is to bring to completion the saving purpose of God, as well as the whole historic development which tends towards the realization of this divine purpose."

As Paul teaches that redemption, so, according to our author, does he teach that sin, is a race fact. As regards its generic relations, our author in his acute and thorough exegesis of the one passage in which the matter is discussed shows, as I believe, that the Apostle teaches that Adam's transgression brought mankind under the dominion of moral evil through the laws of heredity, and that it at the same time brought our race under the dominion of a law by which sin is visited with (physical) death, the transgression of the individual securing the operation of the law in his own case. The hypothesis of a covenant, by virtue of which Adam represented the race, and that of an actual existence of every human being in Adam involving a participation in his sin, finds no support in the Apostle's language. The sin of the race is only reckoned to the individual so far as it is appropriated by his free and conscious act.

To men who have thus identified themselves with sin and are conscious of guilt, the gospel comes declaring that God will, for Christ's sake, forgive them, and thus give them that status of justification which they can never gain by any works of their own, on condition of their faith. This faith is not a work, the only one by which salvation can be obtained; rather is it "the antithesis of all human performance," a trust in the divine grace. Those who do exercise saving faith, and through it gain eternal life, are the elect, and their salvation is the realizing of God's eternal purpose with reference to them.

But this purpose was not an arbitrary one ; nor was the reason underlying it a fact outside of the person whose salvation it contemplated. On the contrary, the Apostle teaches that those who were predestinated were those who were known from eternity to be susceptible to divine grace. By this is not meant such activity on their part as would effect, much less merit, salvation, but merely such a moral condition as made a point of contact for the gracious working of the Holy Spirit.

Passing over Dr. Weiss's interpretation of the scriptural teaching concerning the new life and the sacraments and church institutions, we come to his representation of the New Testament eschatology. According to Peter, our Lord went at his death to Hades to continue there his Messianic work, which He carried on through that endowment of the Spirit which gave power to his earthly ministry. The Apostle's way of mentioning the "*descensus ad inferos*," as well-known, would indicate that it was a part of the primitive oral tradition. All attempts which have been made from Augustine to the present time to eliminate it from the Apostle's teaching, either by identifying the preaching spoken of with that done by Noah, or by denying that it was preaching, Dr. Weiss regards as illustrations of the violence which Scripture is forced to suffer at the hands of dogmatic prejudice. This triumph of prejudice over truth appears the more surprising when it is seen that the "*descensus ad inferos*" is assumed in the doctrinal teaching of the Apostle ; rejection of the gospel being spoken of as the one damning sin, and the inclusion of the dead as well as the living in the Messianic judgment being secured by the preaching to the disobedient in Hades. On the other hand, Dr. Weiss regards our Saviour as teaching in the parable of Dives and Lazarus that those who have died in hardened selfishness will not find salvation in the disembodied state. Though the judgments of that state are not definitive, yet they are, at least in this representation, a practical withdrawal of all hope, as indicating the full retribution surely to come. In no passage of Dr. Weiss's writings, so far as I know, are those two affirmations of Scripture adjusted to each other. It may be presumed that he would regard the New Testament teaching, taken as a whole, to represent the ultimate reach of the opportunity inseparably bound up with the proclamation of the gospel to be as wide as the range of divine grace expressed in the gospel, and on the other hand to declare that men may and do in this life harden their hearts into hopeless opposition to God.

The state of the blessed dead is, according to our author's in-

interpretation of Paul, a rest in the society of Christ. The hindrances to fellowship with the Redeemer which the bodily life present will be done away. The place of sojourn until the resurrection is not Hades, but beyond the third heaven, "in the special dwelling-place of God." That the Apostle's mind dwelt so little on the intermediate state is to be attributed to his eager anticipation of Christ's second coming, which, as his Epistles plainly indicate, he expected to take place within his own lifetime. Before it should come, however, he believed that the Gentile world would be substantially converted to Christianity, and that, in close connection with this consummation of his distinctive work, the Jewish nation would give over its obduracy and own Jesus as the Christ. Then would come the parousia and the resurrection of the righteous dead. Dr. Weiss finds no support in the New Testament for the belief that there will be a resurrection of the wicked. The "shadowy" disembodied state in which they are to live forever he regards as a part of their punishment. The significance of the resurrection is that it will give the soul an appropriate organ of action and expression. This will be a body composed of an "ethereal light substance like Christ's glorified body and that of the angels. Clothed in this, the redeemed will live and reign with Christ forever. The duration of the wretchedness of the wicked is also endless, the language of Scripture positively excluding belief in their ultimate annihilation.

The eschatological teaching of the Apocalypse is not in absolute accord with that of Paul. There we find predictions of a return of our Lord to the earth precedent to his final second coming. This is to bring destruction to the anti-christian powers, and to usher in a reign of Christ's faithful ones. These will consist not only of such true believers as shall be living, but likewise of those who shall have died in faith, and have been raised in a first resurrection. This reign shall endure a thousand years, and shall be accompanied by an extension of Christianity among the nations. A part of mankind will prove impenetrable to its influences, and will be seduced into open hostility to Christ by Satan, when, at the expiration of the thousand years, he shall have been unbound. They will be destroyed by the returning Christ at his final parousia, which is to usher in the universal judgment. In connection with this divergence from Paul's teaching, it should be said that, while Dr. Weiss regards the Apocalypse as probably the work of John, he assigns it to an earlier date than his Epistles and the Gospels, and regards it as a monument of the eschato-

logical views which dominated the "early apostolic Jewish Christianity."

To sum up. We find that Dr. Weiss, approaching the Bible without dogmatic trammels, and applying the highest linguistic and critical gifts to its study, finds it to be "an orthodox book." It reveals to him the universal and hopeless sinfulness of the race, salvation through faith in the atonement made by a divine Saviour, — an atonement which has an objective influence on the mind of God, — regeneration through the special influences of the Holy Spirit, future eternal glory to the righteous, and unending punishment to the finally impenitent. We find, also, in his clear and full presentation of Christ's identification with mankind, as shown both in the record of his life and the apostolic description of his person, in his enunciation of the scriptural teaching regarding the universal range of Christ's work in its atoning virtue and its offer of salvation, and his recovery of the biblical picture of creation as subordinate to Christ and God's redemptive purpose in Him, the materials of a theology whose foundation and goal and principle are the divine man, whom the Church is finding to be the Alpha and Omega of Christian truth, as it long ago found Him to be the Alpha and Omega of the Christian life.

To this necessarily meagre, but, I trust, substantially accurate, presentation of the outlines of Dr. Weiss's Theology, let me add a word of my own. As regards those truths which are the essential content of the New Testament, the significance belonging to our author's statement of them is simply that given by his position as a skillful exegete. But as regards that problem which lies outside of the range of New Testament teaching, and which has yet such vital relation to it, — a problem which, I need not say, is forcing itself upon the attention of the Evangelical Church of this country, — the relation of Sacred Scripture to Christianity, Dr. Weiss's work has special significance. He is, as we have said, more than an expositor of the text of Scripture; he is an expositor of the Scripture viewed in its relation to the life of the Apostolic Church. The exegetical and the critical parts of his work are inseparably united. His "Biblical Theology" is a setting forth of the various types of inspired teaching contained in the New Testament, in their historical relations; but the determination of those relations requires a thorough criticism of the several documents, which, in the case of the first three Gospels, involves a discrimination between different elements in their contents, and a judgment as to the relative value of these elements. And his

"Life of Christ" and his commentaries on Mark and Luke are based on the theory that such criticism of the Gospels is essential to a correct appreciation of their contents. To treat them as faultless works of God; to give up all thought of going back of them to their sources, and of examining the processes by which the narratives were shaped out of those sources; to shut the eyes to all discrepancies, this is simply to resolve not to try to understand those books. Though the resolve be made from excellent motives, those motives will not make it result in anything beyond the ignorance on which it is bent. Nor can it bear examination on ethical grounds, since it is a resolve to refuse to seek evidence which may disturb a favorite position. The consent to receive evidence would be a sanction of historical criticism.

Now this leading New Testament scholar, in treating the relation of the documents which compose the New Testament to the life of the Apostolic Church as a historical question, to be dealt with according to the methods of historical science, is setting evangelical students of Scripture an example which they cannot afford to disregard. For the question is a historical one. From what other source is an answer to be looked for than from historical inquiry? From the Scripture? Aside from the possibility of grounding a reasonable opinion as to the authorship and value of any book or collection of books upon assertions made in such book or collection, there stands the patent fact that there are no definitions in the New Testament of the New Testament. The only general assertions respecting Sacred Scripture which it contains were made of the Old Testament. How can we learn from any doctrinal affirmations of the Scriptures by whom and when the Apocalypse or the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, or how the materials used in the synoptic Gospels were preserved, or what means of information were at Luke's disposal when he wrote the Acts? And if from certain predictions of Christ we can infer the doctrinal purity of the epistles written by his apostles, we have no warrant in such predictions for predicating absolute perfection of those epistles, as distinct from their author's oral teaching, in which we find imperfection, and therefore are not justified in refusing to seek, by the use of proper inquiry, to find out what they really are, in their relation to Christ and his Church. Of course, it is assumed that this inquiry should be conducted from the Christian point of view, recognizing the supernatural in Christ and his influence, as well as the appeal which the doctrinal Scriptures make to our moral and spiritual nature, as among the facts to be taken into account.

But if the Scriptures, as historical products, must be examined historically to ascertain what they really are, we must let the historical method have its rights. We must not use it merely as a ladder by which we climb up to a convenient doctrinal position. To prove by historical criticism that Luke wrote the Acts, and then to infer that because he wrote the book it cannot contain errors, is to violate the canons of intellectual morality. Those processes which we trust while they are carrying us to the point we wish to reach, we must trust to the end. To commit ourselves to them is to burn our bridges behind us. It is so with the synoptic Gospels. If we abandon the assumption that they are miraculous products, and so above criticism, and begin to ask, in view of the facts of the case, what they really are, we must, if we would not stultify ourselves, take the answers which our inquiries yield. If they show that in some cases words of Christ have been misreported by one or the other evangelist; that facts of contemporaneous history have been unwittingly misstated; that two varying reports of the same incident in our Lord's life have been embodied in the narrative as two separate incidents, then we must not refuse to admit the proved fact to be a fact on account of its incompatibility with certain *a priori* beliefs of our own. It is not claimed that we should adopt the conclusions of any single critic, or of any number of critics, without testing them; nor is it denied that we should take into account the religious as well as the intellectual qualifications of the evangelists for their task; but it is insisted that, taking into our induction all the facts within our reach, — facts of the inner as well as of the outward life, — we should freely and fairly use historical criticism in examining Sacred Scripture.

Is such examination one of the duties of the Christian Church? Is it a profitable expenditure of time to try to find out what Sacred Scripture is? Is sacred science worth cultivating? The questions answer themselves. Do religious interests forbid the inquiry? They demand it. They demand that the claims which the ministry make for the Bible be adjusted to the facts which are in the Bible. For a minister to present a conception of Sacred Scripture which is inconsistent with the phenomena of Scripture is to injure his own power as a Christian teacher, if he believe that conception, and to undermine his influence by degrading him, if he do not believe it. For him to make a claim which is exaggerated and indiscriminating; to demand for a historical sketch like the Acts, for example, such a divine sanction as is given to a

doctrinal treatise like the Epistle to the Romans, is to hamper himself in his endeavor to show that we have inspired teaching.

And unwillingness to apply historical criticism to Scripture brings another and more serious detriment to religion. It prevents the biblical truth from being presented in its historic relations and proportion. There is only room to allude to a topic which deserves a thorough discussion. So much must be said: — the words of our Lord have especially suffered from this unwitting misrepresentation. They have been, especially in their eschatological relations, taken from their setting and treated as the final utterances of Deity instead of part of the earlier teaching of a progressive revelation. So they have been made the basis of sweeping declarations which not only lie outside of their scope, but contradict the apostolic teaching, as well as that central and deepest teaching, the Incarnation and the Atonement. Nay, the warnings which obdurate and malignant sin called from his lips have been wrested from their occasion and intent, beaten into doctrine, compared with his other utterances in a crude, quantitative calculation, and so made a rule for determining his conception of God's character and his own earthly work. And his utterances about himself and his Judæan work have been interpreted as if belonging to the revelation of his person and his relation to the race; claims to deity have been put into them which they were never meant to bear; artless avowals of human limitation contained in them have been quibbled away, and so the clear picture of his humanity sadly obscured. Biblical Theology will do great things for the Church if it succeeds in convincing it that the scriptural picture of Christ is to be found in the Bible which lies imbedded in history, not the Bible which men construct by grouping texts about their own set of doctrines.

Edward Y. Hincks.

THE MINISTRY OF NATURAL BEAUTY.

THE aspect of beauty which the visible creation presents to mankind belongs to it, not accidentally or superficially, but essentially and by virtue of its construction in accordance with a law of beauty. It is not, as some seem to fancy, a kind of external decoration which might possibly have been omitted, but is an absolutely indispensable element of nature. In the creative Mind which conceived the worlds, and in the creative forces that fashioned them, dwelt and wrought the very spirit of beauty. Mr. Hawthorne says of Hilda, it seemed as if she was "only visible by the sunshine of her soul!" Nature is beautiful by virtue of that inward Light

"From whose pure beams all perfect beauty springs."

It follows from this conception of nature, — a conception insisted upon by the greatest writers, from Plato to Emerson, — that natural beauty has, by divine ordination, a power of ministration for the delight and blessing of all in whom any sensibility to its influence exists. And although this sensibility is unequally distributed among men, and requires instruction and culture, none seem to be quite destitute of it, or incapable of delight and development in it.

It follows, too, that as the characters of beauty in creation are God-spelling characters, we have a sort of gospel of natural beauty, not inconsistent with other gospels, in which may be found rich revelations for human delight and culture, ranging from those which appeal to simple and unreflecting emotion to such as belong to the highest exercises of imagination, and to the clearest spiritual insight.

The ministration thereof is glorious. "Day unto day uttereth speech and night unto night showeth knowledge." Great poets, like David, Dante, and Shakespeare, are its prophets and priests. Its incense floats upward from innumerable golden censers in garden, grove, and field. Its shrines are by every wayside, its cloisters in every solitude, its altars in every forest and mountain. The hum of insects, the singing of birds, the ripple of streams, the roar of cataracts, the whispering of the tree-tops, thunders that shake the globe, and the deep diapason of the sea, are blended in its Jubilates and Magnificats. Its means of grace are in every fair form, brave color, and sweet sound in earth, sky, and sea.

Its power in human life will not cease to be felt till men can loose the bands of Orion and bind the sweet influence of the Pleiades.

Dr. Channing declared the universe to be the temple of beauty, and the enjoyments it gives to be "akin to worship" in their purity and refinement.

I. We may consider what a perpetual ministration of simple, emotional pleasure is afforded to mankind by the beautiful in nature, such as is universally felt in beholding the tints of the morning and evening skies, the rainbow, the splendor of vernal and autumnal forests, the majesty of the midnight heavens, the delicate hues of flowers. Such pleasures have blessed mankind in every age and clime. It is as if man had inherited an indestructible impression of that fair Eden in which his sinless progenitors rejoiced, which, in all his wanderings and degradations, enables him to find delight in such beauty as the world still affords, and which marks him as the child not only of a lost, but of a promised Paradise as well. And this simple delight is clearly distinct from all questions of utility. Beauty may have utility, as in the case of flowers, whose colors and perfumes attract insects by whose agency the flowers are in turn fertilized. But even in such cases utility is not the only or chief end of beauty, and gives no adequate explanation of it. Even in the attractiveness of the flowers whose conspicuous colors and sweet odors invite insects, may we not perceive, instead of a type of that vain and passionate beauty which attires and perfumes itself to lure the unwary to its selfish and seductive service, an intimation that the influence of natural beauty is wider and deeper than at first appears, and that its ministration of delight extends below mankind, condescending even to the ephemeral creatures of the air, in whom, as in every creature which God has made, some dim sense of beauty resides and stirs? "Beauty is its own excuse for being," and we claim for it a divinely ordained ministration of simple delight, apart from all considerations of utility.

Suppose an *unbeautiful* world, and man destitute of all sensibility to beauty. What better would he be than a stupid prisoner in a gloomy dungeon? The landscape would be without green or gloss; the grass would bristle like the stubble of a beard on the ugly face of the flat fields; the lichens would not gild the crags nor the heather empurple the hills; there would be no crystal snow-flakes nor diamond-drops of dew; there would be no tenderness of color on the clouds, no fretwork of the frost, no wave-motions of the sea, no violet-strewn banks, no "golden exhalations

of the dawn," no sunset splendors, no gay plumage of birds. Beneath a dreary sky the sea would be a drearier waste, and every lake a dismal scene of desolation. Light enough for the simple distinction between what is useful and dangerous would shine through some medium that should strain it of every vestige of that which makes colors perceptible. Instead of marvelous cloud-scenery, we might have a neutral mist-curtain underhanging the firmament, to hide the splendor of the heavens. The mountains would be monstrous masses from whose frowning ramparts nothing to please the wide-ranging eye could be seen. The valleys would be every way angular, and their rivers straight and dark and still. The forests could be only broad tracts of gloomy lumber, and instead of the stately pine and palm, the pyramidal fir, the sturdy oak, the bushy maple, the dainty and delicate birch, and the gothic elm, there would be so many cord-feet of sprawling timber, fit for fences or fires. Plain fruits and grains would grow in cheerless fields. How could men then ever think to lift up their eyes to the massive hills, or to a flat, staring firmament, or scan the blank horizon-walls? Unattractive nature would not be studied, and there would be neither science nor poetry. The persons, dress, and habitations of men would be destitute of charm. Home would be a lodging-place, as for savages. In hideous uniformity of white or black, the miserable multitudes of men and women, without comeliness of face or figure, would go about like mourners or ghosts,

"But, as you by their faces see,
All silent and all damned."

Or if, seeing thus how beauty belongs to the world not by way of external ornamentation, but as being an indestructible property of its forms, this effort to conceive a de-beautified world seems puerile, think of nature as retaining all its beauties of form and relation, but destitute of color only. Mr. Ruskin says, "that of all God's gifts to the sight of man, color is the holiest, most divine, the most solemn." And we can well believe this when we look at the most beautiful thing in nature, the rainbow, and reflect that it is God's own chosen symbol of his everlasting covenant of peace with mankind. Good color has this supreme virtue, that, while all cultivated minds love it, it appeals directly and effectually to the uncultivated. Conceive of the elimination of color from nature: the blue from the sky, the green from the grass, the glory from the sunlight, the hue from every flower, and in what a hideous uniformity of ugliness, instead of her beautiful

garments, would the earth be clad. But because, in order to this elimination of color, light itself must be put out, because, when God said "Let there be light," He said, in that same word, "Let there be beauty, too," therefore is the whole face of nature radiant, and her robes of gold and green and purple such as become the daughter of a king.

Such a ministry to human life has natural beauty. Its blessings abound in even heedless souls. Wordsworth calls the daisy "the unassuming commonpl ce of nature." It is only necessary to try and think of the world without such beautiful "commonplaces," — without the daisy, without the "daffodils that come before the swallow dares," without the "violets dim but sweeter than Juno's eyes," without the purple asters and the golden-rod that bloom along the dusty highways, without the unassuming wild-flowers that make the meadows smile, — in order to perceive how unspeakably meaner and duller it would be to every man and woman in it. Poor Peter Bell would sadly miss "the yellow primrose by the river's brim." As we live in an atmosphere and light that are essential to existence, but of which men seem heedless, so we live in an element of beauty, but for whose silent, constant ministration life would be comparatively barren and burdensome.

II. This ministry of the beautiful is also one of great intellectual quickening and culture.

Thoughtfulness accompanies the real awakening of the sense of beauty. One then experiences those "vital feelings of delight," of which Wordsworth speaks, which stimulate perception, reflection, and imagination. It is with the contemplation of beautiful things as with listening to good music. The emotions and the imagination are so intimately connected that every pure feeling of delight in the one becomes a quickening impulse in the other. I need not say how poetry finds in this sphere of the beautiful not only the materials for its work, but its inspirations also. The suggestiveness of the beautiful in nature is amazing. Thoughts for which laborious search has been vainly made in studious hours come trooping in upon the mind while one quietly contemplates some lovely aspect of the landscape, horizon, or ocean. Then one feels, —

"A sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is in the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man ;

A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things."

It is in such hours, when all conscious processes of thought are suspended, that the eyes of the understanding are strangely enlightened, imagination takes wing, and one has vision and gains his largest and noblest views of truth.

"The meanest flower that blows on earth could give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

The history of art and literature affords overwhelming proof of this power of beauty to quicken the mind to noblest activities. And this proof is so obvious that I need only allude to it. Not only are all great works of art and architecture embodiments of the spirit of beauty and monuments of its power, not only does all poetry throb and glow with its inspirations, but all living books — such as contain the springs of human thought — are the work of men who were smitten with the love of natural beauty, and whose imaginations were kindled thereby. Such books, from the dialogues of Plato to the romances of Hawthorne, are children of the sunshine and not of the cloister. Their pages smell of the fields and not of the midnight oil. Their authors ransacked the universe for images and symbols of their thought, and through all these their illuminating genius shines, as through gloriously-pictured cathedral windows the sunlight streams, making them glow and blaze with unutterable meanings and indescribable splendors.

Whatever springs of poetry lie hidden in the soul are discovered by this penetrative influence. Sometimes one seems to experience, as it were, a new intellectual birth. He becomes conscious of new aspirations and powers. Material images flock like doves to the windows of his mind only to fly forth again as the winged messengers — the carrier-doves — of his living thought. The south wind blows, and there is song and summer in the soul. So it has been historically. The great revivals of learning have been attended by wonderful efflorescences of this same spirit of beauty in art and song. The highest attainments in intellectual culture have been made by those nations which have had the keenest love of natural beauty, and in which its influence has been most powerful. One may not know how or why it is, but his whole intellectual being is invigorated and enriched in this atmosphere of natural beauty, and by this intimacy with the fair aspects of creation.

"Give me health and a day," says Emerson, "and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous. The dawn is my Assyria; the sunset and moonrise my Paphos and unimaginable realms of faerie; broad noon shall be my England of the senses and understanding; the night shall be my Germany of mystic philosophy and dreams."

III. The ministry of the beautiful is also one of moral and spiritual elevation.

It is not affirmed that it alone is sufficient for a complete culture. The facts of history prove the contrary. Notwithstanding the intimate relation of beauty and goodness, it is a great error to overlook their distinction.

The function of conscience is distinct from that of taste, and superior to it. There is a ministration of righteousness, apart from which the ministration of beauty is powerless against the forces of moral evil that infest human nature. Still more powerless is it, in the presence of human guilt and remorse, to effect the ends of reconciliation and peace.

I do not know where this truth is more powerfully illustrated than in the weird myth which the author of the "Marble Faun" puts into the lips of Donatello. One of Donatello's progenitors had an intimate acquaintance with a fair creature, half human and half sprite, whose life and soul were interfused with the water of a fountain. In her friendship he found delight and comfort. But one day he came and called in vain, and as he bathed his hands there was only a sound of sobbing in the stream. He had washed a blood-stain from his hand, and the delightful bond was broken. And those who recall Hawthorne's masterly delineation of Donatello's career after the dreadful deed which, in a moment of passion, he had committed, will remember how to that veriest child of nature the whole face of nature was changed. The creatures of the wood no longer came at his call. The birds no longer knew his voice. The glory of the earth had vanished. And so the legend typifies "the soothing and genial effects of habitual intercourse with nature, in all ordinary cares and griefs; while, on the other hand, her mild influences fall short in their effects upon the ruder passions, and are altogether powerless in the dread fever-fit or deadly chill of guilt."

The Greek culture was comparatively fruitless on its moral and spiritual side, because it lacked the ministration of righteousness, because it was so exclusively æsthetic and intellectual. But how far below what it actually was would have been the Greek civ-

ilization but for the culture of beauty? But for that, her literature, oratory, art, architecture, poetry, and manifold mighty power would not have been.

St. Paul, at Troas, heard a voice sounding over the sea to him from Macedonia, "Come over and help us." Help was needed. The gospel was needed in Greece. And yet, that St. Paul's ministry of the gospel might be effectual in the world, a mighty warrior had long before gone from that same Macedonia eastward, by Troas, to carry into all the world the language, the letters, and the civilization of Greece. Insufficient as it was, by itself, for the highest ends of life, the culture of the beautiful proved to be a handmaid and helper of the higher spiritual culture of the gospel. The worship of beauty is only a refined idolatry which not infrequently ends in the profanation of beauty. There are those in our age who would repeat the folly of the Crotonians who erected an altar to Phillipus "because he was beautiful." In the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans St. Paul has vividly described the natural results of that substitution of the creature for the Creator in worship.

Let us distinguish between the true property of beauty and its profanation; between its legitimate influence and perversions thereof by the ignorant or impious. Because personal physical beauty is often associated for a while with depravity of character and abused for base purposes, shall we therefore deny its value and power as a gift of God when we behold it, where it belongs, in the Madonnas of Raphael, in the lady of Milton's "Comus," in the Hilda of Hawthorne's romance, in such historic women as Beatrice and Lady Hastings (of whom Richard Steele said, "to love her was a liberal education"), and in innumerable good women of this present time who brighten the world with their physical beauty, while they sanctify it with their spiritual loveliness? When the good and the beautiful are conjoined, then we have works and characters of eternal loveliness; then we have the perfection of virtue. Then an otherwise grim-visaged and angular righteousness lights up and rounds out in a splendor of grace. The effect is like that produced by the mellow sunlight as, of an afternoon, it softly rests, here and there, upon objects otherwise indifferent,—a bit of wood, a patch of grass, a naked rock, a fallen leaf. Their hard outlines are softened. Their coldness turns to warmth. They smile at the touch of the sunshine, and in its light become lovely. Then, too, come such hymns as Spenser sung to "Heavenly Beutie," such pictures as Fra Angelico

painted while he prayed, such scenes as Dante describes in the "Paradiso," and the whole host of spiritual forms and faces which only artistic genius, smitten with a sense of beauty, and guided by the spirit of reverence, could have produced.

And though I am not concerned here with the influence of art, yet I dare affirm that all great and enduring works of human genius have originated, not in impiety, but in holy inspirations, — either in reverent characters or in temporarily pure and exalted states of feeling, — and that the periods of debased art have been periods in which the love of nature had vanished, and the study of nature was suspended.

"Not from a vain and shallow thought
His awful Jove young Phidias wrought."

It is the property of beauty in all things and persons to awaken a pure delight, to suggest noble thoughts and ideas, and, so far as desire is awakened thereby, to hallow it. Its legitimate result is to invigorate and not enervate the heart, to suggest the higher spiritual beauty, and guide the soul thereto.

It seems to me a striking confirmation of the spiritual power of natural beauty, that the conditions of its effectual operation are precisely those required for the operation of Christian grace. Mr. Hawthorne says that the appreciation of a picture requires of the spectator "a surrender of himself in due proportion with the miracle which has been wrought." One must "look with the eye of faith or its highest excellence escapes you." Like all revelations of the better life, the adequate perception of a work of art demands a "simplicity of vision."

This "surrender of self," this "eye of faith," this "simplicity of vision" — are they not quite as requisite for the adequate perception of the highest beauty in nature? And just what is required is also wrought in all who study in such a spirit. If this seems like reasoning in a circle, it is only in such a circle as that in which the Beatitudes move, — "to him that hath shall be given."

A modern critic has said that Sir Walter Scott's delight in nature was exceptionally great because of his unselfishness and humility.

Look at the picture of Eve which Milton sketches, as she

"Rose and went forth among her fruits and flowers
To visit how they prospered, bud and bloom :
. . . They, at her coming, sprung,
And touched by her fair tendance, gladlier grew."

Do we not already know that

"Grace was in all her steps, heaven in her eye,
In every gesture dignity and love?"

The holiest and best of all the monkish multitude, St. Francis of Assisi, was most completely at home among the birds and flowers, and studied nature with utmost delight.

With equal truth and beauty, the author of the well-known "*Picciola*" makes a little flower that springs up and grows in the prison court-yard the means of converting the unhappy prisoner from atheism to faith. God's truth and love were so revealed in its development and bloom, that the attentive prisoner, who had first written on the wall of his cell "There is no God," wrote again, "perhaps," and finally, with humbled, chastened heart, confessed in another writing his faith in God.

The simple condition of the effectual operation of this spiritual power of beauty in us is the sincere love of the beautiful. For such a spirit nature has more than delight. Beholding the beauty of the external world, it is as if one beheld "signalings from some high land of one they feel, but dimly understand." There are suggestions of a goodness somewhere within this fair creation, — a beautiful soul of the beautiful world. What one sees that so lifts his thoughts and feelings above all physical phenomena witnesses of a higher Beauty of Holiness. And so it was said the "undevout astronomer is mad."

Nature leads the lover of nature into her sanctuary, wherein, as in the sanctuary of God, are "strength and beauty." She provides for him in marvelous songs without words. She allows whatever day he pleases to devote. She constrains him to worship. Her birds sing of God's care and provision. Her lilies tell of his glory. Once more he is taught that "man does not live by bread alone." His envy and discontent are reprov'd. "All things are yours," apostolic nature says. The bitter sense of hard privations gives way to a glad feeling of immeasurable possession. Out in the fields or in the woods one is so rich! Nature withholds nothing. One

"Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

He is, pretty soon,

"Pious beyond the intention of his thought,
Devout above the meaning of his will."

It is a most significant fact, that, as often as love is kindled in

any heart, the sense of beauty awakens at once, and nature begins to be illuminated. And especially is this true of the distinct love of God. One needs only read such a book as the *Confessions* of Augustine to see the truth of this statement, or even the *Life* of Jonathan Edwards. That man says in his diary, that as his sense of divine things increased, "there seemed to be a calm, sweet cast of divine glory in everything. God's excellency, his wisdom, purity, and love seemed to appear in everything: in the sun and moon and stars; in the clouds and blue sky; in the grass, flowers, and trees; in the water and all nature. I often used to sit and view the moon for continuance, and in the day spent much time in viewing the clouds and the sky, to behold the sweet glory of God in these things." Holiness seemed to him nothing "but the highest beauty and amiableness." The Christian soul appeared to him to be "like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year: low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory; rejoicing in a calm rapture; diffusing around a sweet fragrance; standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about; all in like manner opening their bosoms to drink in the light of the sun."

I know a child whose first impressions of beauty in the world, and whose first distinct apprehension of a good God, were received when, one day, a wise man took him gently aside to show him a sweet-pea blossom, and talked lovingly of the beauty of a Being who could make such a fair and sweet flower to grow. And considering what anxieties, cares, doubts, and fears breed and multiply in the gloom of an untrustful or sordid life, is it not well to remember by what words the Master, who loved nature so well, who sought her solitudes and mountain-tops for communion with God, and talked so much of the birds and flowers and grain and grass, reproved solicitude and distrust, saying, "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow: they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these!" The power of natural beauty to minister spiritual grace has never had and can never have more complete or eloquent vindication.

If we turn to the Hebrew Scriptures — the books of righteousness — it will appear that they abundantly recognize this same power. They bid us behold the King in his beauty. They speak of the Beauty of Holiness. "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined." The prophetic soul can utter itself only in

figures and images drawn from the material world. And the Book through which the Spirit of God breathes, glows and blooms and is fragrant with the spirit of beauty, and, more fully than any other, reflects the beauty of nature.

"Out of the heart of nature rolled
The burdens of the Bible old."

The home of innocence is a peaceful paradise. The token of God's everlasting covenant of peace is the beautiful bow in the clouds. The land of promise is surpassing fair. The institution of religion is after no Puritanic fashion, but after a divinely given pattern which appeals to the senses with beautiful vestments, picturesque tabernacle, magnificent temple, and imposing ritual. God answers Job out of a whirlwind, sublimely summoning him to review the wonders of creation in earth and sea and sky. The Psalter, that everlasting and universal liturgy, is all bright and sweet with the efflorescence of the feeling of natural beauty. Its illuminated initial letter is a tree planted by the rivers of waters, fruitful and unfading. The eighth Psalm teaches what humility and reverence a contemplation of the firmament excites. The nineteenth Psalm shows how the heavens declare the glory of God, how their music pervades the universe, how overwhelming is their grandeur, and bids us note what a tabernacle is set therein for the sun — cloud-curtained tabernacle with veil and hangings of blue and purple and scarlet and gold screening its holy of holies. The perfect Psalm figures God as a shepherd, and pictures the green pastures and still waters of his gentle providence. The floods clap their hands; the sea roars and the fullness thereof; the valleys laugh and sing; the golden harvests wave; the glad reapers that went out with tears to sow, return with songs and sheaves; the little hills rejoice on every side; the mountains shed help and bring peace; the Lord God is like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land; the grass flourishes and withers; the flowers bloom and fade; the sparrows and swallows build their nests and rear their young on God's altars; the light is God's garment; the clouds are his chariots; the winged winds and flaming lightnings are his messengers and ministers; and, to specify no further, this hymnal, so full of music and illumination, fitly closes with a summons to angels and to men; to young and old; to sun, moon, and stars; to fire, hail, snow, and wind; to forests and mountains; to beasts and birds and creeping things; yea, to all creatures and elements to praise the Lord!

Time will not permit a description of the manner in which the

prophets set forth their word in pictures drawn from scenes of nature. The beauty of Sharon, the glory of Lebanon, the grandeur and splendor of Carmel, the lily of the valleys, the vineyards of Engedi with odorous, tender grapes, the young roe upon the mountains of spices, the budding pomegranates, the fragrant mandrakes, the cottages in the vineyards, the oaks of Bashan, the ships of Tarshish, the roaring of the sea, the glittering dew on the mown grass, the broad rivers and streams, the eagles mounting on strong wings, the constellations of heaven, the doves flying as a cloud, the earth bringing forth her bud and blooming into summer, — yea, “the King’s daughter is all glorious within,” and the King’s name is Light, and his dear Son is the Dayspring from on high, the Sun of righteousness, and the goal of all his pilgrim-people is a glorious city adorned as a bride for her husband, wherein the trees of life flourish, and the fountains of life spring, — “Jerusalem the golden,” our consolation in toil, our dream in slumber, the inspiration and theme of sweetest songs, the fulfillment of still sweeter hopes, the consummation of still sweeter life.

So much of natural beauty is wrought into this Bible that its elimination would leave but a skeleton of truth.

And the meaning of all this is, that the sense of natural beauty which thrills through us all, and which the Bible recognizes and addresses, was not given for æsthetic gratification merely, but for the very highest ends of culture; that by its proper cultivation a sense of intellectual and moral beauty might be awakened in us, which sees a divine glory in the daisy and in the star, in the purity of angels and in the humblest human virtue, and, in its highest development, needs no sun or moon to shine in its kingdom, for the glory of God is the light thereof. Wherefore I consent to Mr. Ruskin’s conclusion, that “the love of nature, wherever it has existed, has been a faithful and sacred element of human feeling;” . . . and, other things being equal with respect to two individuals, “the one who loves nature most will always be found to have more faith in God than the other.” It brings with it “such a sense of the presence and power of a great Spirit as no mere reasoning can either induce or controvert;” and, rightly pursued and associated with the higher principles of religion, “becomes the channel of certain truths which by no other means can be conveyed.” I believe with Plato in the “Symposium” that he who learns “to see the beautiful in due order and succession, when he comes towards the end, will suddenly perceive a nature of wondrous beauty.” And the true order is, “to use the beauties

of earth as steps along which he mounts upward . . . from all fair forms to fair actions, and from fair actions to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and knows what the essence of beauty is."

Edwin Pond Parker.

THE THEOLOGICAL TENDENCIES IN GERMANY.

NO. II.

BEFORE describing the third tendency in German theology, a scholar who ranks among the most original thinkers of the century should be mentioned. Richard Rothe, for many years professor in Heidelberg, is frequently classed with the evangelical theologians of mediation; but he had so many peculiar views that he cannot be classified with any existing party. He himself was aware of this, and said that his place was among the theosophists, somewhere near Oettinger. If we assign him a position between the evangelical and the neo-rationalistic tendencies, it is because he united with the former in defending some of the most cherished orthodox doctrines while he rejected views usually regarded as evangelical, and also took a prominent part in organizing the Association which became the embodiment of the new rationalism.

With a deep interest in practical Christianity, he nevertheless sought quiet retirement, and compared himself with a monk of the Middle Ages. Intellectually, he belonged to the speculative theologians who were trained in the Hegelian philosophy; but at the same time had learned from Schleiermacher and from Scripture the value of the emotional and moral elements in religion. His sermons revealed a devout spirit and had a strong mystical flavor. Like Beck, he regards ethics as the fundamental, as well as the highest and most important Christian science. His work on that subject, in five volumes, is one of the ablest contributions to modern theological literature.¹ It starts with the certainty of God's existence, and on this premise attempts speculatively to construct the universe. Rothe delights in abstruse and mysterious subjects,

¹ Ehrenfeuchter in his *Christenthum und moderne Weltanschauung* (1876) says: "Rothe's *Ethik* is undoubtedly the most significant production in the theological literature of our day. Since Schleiermacher's *Glaubenslehre* no other work of equal originality and peculiarity has appeared."

such as Creation, Demonology, and Eschatology. The first edition of his "*Ethik*" was published 1845-1848; the second edition is wholly revised and greatly enlarged. The work includes much more than is usually discussed under ethics; it in fact includes nearly the whole of systematic divinity. It treats of God and man and nature, also the doctrine of the kingdom of God. This great work does not find its explanation solely in Scripture, or in a philosophical system, or in history, or in the Reformation, or in the Christian consciousness. Rothe now uses the one, then the other, then all of them, in order to construct his speculative theological system, always going his own peculiar way, regardless whether the result is orthodox or heterodox. He fully recognizes the supernatural in religion, but at the same time is free in his criticisms. Paradoxical as it may seem, the work is a union of mystical and rationalistic elements. Some of the speculations strongly suggest the Gnosticism of the second and third centuries. Instead of making the vain attempt to give even a general idea of the contents of this voluminous work, in this article, I shall give a summary of Rothe's peculiar view of inspiration. This will enable us to understand his relation to Scripture, and will also throw light on his theological position.

His doctrine of inspiration was developed in a book published in 1863, entitled "*Zur Dogmatik*." Rothe emphasized the personality of God. Instead of adopting the view so common among modern philosophers, that absoluteness and personality exclude each other, he held that the Absolute must be personal. With pantheism he also rejected deism, which exalts God beyond all mundane affairs. In "*Zur Dogmatik*," as well as in his "*Ethik*," he places the personal God in intimate relation to man, so that He communicates with him and reveals himself to him. This supernaturalism removes him far from the liberalism of the day. Real as is the divine revelation of God to man, so also are there real miracles, though the reports of them are to be accepted only after they have stood the test of thorough critical examination. Prophecy also is real. Its end is Christ, in whom the divine revelation attains perfection.

While Rothe thus removes the gulf between the supernatural and the natural, he rejects the view that inspiration is mechanical or magical; truly divine, it is nevertheless humanly conditioned. It may be regarded as the redeeming activity of God in the midst of his chosen people, by means of which the religious consciousness is purified and strengthened. Man's activity is not excluded, but

is the condition for the reception of divine inspiration. In nature and history God reveals himself in supernatural events. He also inspires men, but in different degrees. At times the divine illumination is more a feeling, at others a thought; sometimes a hope is excited, sometimes knowledge is given. God's manifestation in nature and history arouses the religious consciousness, and this state is the point to which the inspiration is attached. Generally the inspiration does not quite equal the manifestation of God, which is consequently not fully apprehended by the inspired person; but in Christ we find both the manifestation of God and the inspiration perfect.

But how is it with the Scriptures? The inspiration of holy men is purely inner and personal, directly affecting their feelings and thoughts only during the divine act. What they do afterwards may be indirectly affected by the inspiration (which is temporary not permanent), but it is not itself inspired. This applies to their writings and preaching, as well as all other acts. Hence the Scriptures, even if all their authors were inspired and aimed to give a record of the divine illumination, are not inspired. They were produced in the same way as other books, and the writers were dependent on the usual literary aids. Rothe consequently regards the Bible as purely a human production, whose writers were liable to error. Its books must therefore be used critically, just as any other volume; nevertheless its contents, and the inspiration received by its authors, give it a peculiar value; we may call it a human record of divine revelation. But what this revelation really was is not at once apparent; it can only be learned by carefully separating the truth from the error. Though Scripture is not itself a divine record, we can nevertheless obtain from it a knowledge of the inspiration which came to men of old. The Scriptures have a divine energy, namely, the power of the testimony of those whom God had inspired. Christianity does not rest on an infallible book, and faith in such infallibility does not constitute the believer, but it rests on a person: and that is genuine Christian faith which believes in the reality of a divine revelation and in the person of Jesus Christ. The authors of Scripture, prophets and apostles included, simply give their views, their impressions, and show how they were affected; and in this light their writings must be viewed. The apostles themselves could not fully appreciate the glory revealed in Christ, much less could they perfectly describe it; but by taking all the records of Him by the different writers of the New Testament we can form a correct idea of Him. By careful

study and critical investigation we may gather into a focus the numerous rays, and thus obtain a conception of the brightness which shone in Christ. Christian truth is subject to development, and Rothe thinks that we ought to understand Christ better than the apostles did. All progress should contribute to the better understanding of God and his revelation. To despair of the possibility of learning from Scripture the true character of the divine revelation, is evidence of weakness of faith. New Christian truth is still added from time to time; it must, however, be tested by the revelation of which the Scriptures give a record. This new truth is a product of the great salvation introduced by Christ.

Holding these views, Rothe was perfectly consistent when he defended the genuineness of divine revelation as strenuously as the most orthodox and yet treated the Scriptures as freely as the most critical. We now take our leave of this speculative thinker until we meet him again in the Protestant Association.

3. *The Neo-Rationalistic Tendency.*

This includes great diversity in doctrine, as well as in religious life, in some cases approaching evangelical Christianity, while in others its adherents hesitate to acknowledge a personal God and to confess faith in the immortality of the soul. It is difficult to give the theological status of this tendency, because it glories in its liberalism, its doctrinal latitudinarianism, its individualism, and its creedlessness. Indeed, doctrinally, it is a trend rather than a status; an inquiry and a seeking rather than a settled faith. Doubt is very prominent, and the tendency is much more conspicuous in its negations than in its positive declarations.

This new rationalism differs considerably from the old, which prevailed at the close of the last and the beginning of this century. The latter regarded religion as essentially dogma, and neglected the emotional element; but the new depreciates doctrine, and lays the stress on the emotions and the life. This tendency agrees in the main with Schleiermacher in placing the seat of religion in the heart, and its leaders speak of themselves as his true followers; but others regard them as constituting the left wing of his school, and the more evangelical of the mediating theologians as the right wing. Through the influence of Schleiermacher, and of the religious development of the century, it has become much more churchly than the old rationalism. It, in fact, professes to aim specially at a revival of a religious spirit and of church love among the masses. It not merely claims to be in the church, but

to be the true church. It calls itself Christian, evangelical, and Protestant, and claims to have the essence of Christianity, and to be the legitimate heir of the Reformation. But it is also the heir of Strauss and Baur, though it may not go as far in negations as they did, and it seeks to conserve what it regards as the kernel of Christianity after criticism has destroyed the shell. It is also seriously affected by the skepticism prevalent in modern culture, though it strives to defend ideal interests against materialism, and to establish religion on a psychological and historical basis, so as to be secure against the attacks of atheism.

For more than a century rationalism has been a power in Germany. Without forming a distinct ecclesiastical organization, it affected the universities, the pulpits, and the religious life of the masses. In recent times, however, the new rationalism has been embodied in a distinct and widely scattered organization. As there is no doctrinal standard to which we can appeal, we are obliged to go to the declarations of this organization and its leaders for a correct view of the tendency.

In September, 1863, a convention of theological professors, preachers, and prominent laymen met at Frankfort on the Main and formed the Protestant Association (*Protestanten Verein*). The one hundred and thirty-one persons present represented Baden, Hanover, Saxony, Thüringen, Hesse, and Nassau. Baden took the most active part in the movement, and four of the professors of its university in Heidelberg were among the leaders, namely, Rothe, Schenkel, Bluntschli, and Holtzmann; of these, Bluntschli and Schenkel were the first presidents of the Association. As the professed aim was to include all the elements of Protestantism, Professor Baumgarten, of Rostock, also appeared. He was almost the only representative of orthodoxy, and hoped here to find that freedom which was denied him at home. Professor Ewald, of Göttingen, and Dr. C. Schwarz, of Gotha, were also among the leaders.

The new Association claimed to seek the renewal of the evangelical Protestant Church in the spirit of evangelical freedom and in harmony with the entire culture of the present age. In its declaration of principles it declares that it seeks:—

“1. The development of the German Evangelical Church on the basis of the congregational principle, and to prepare the way for an organic connection of the several churches of the land on this basis.

“2. The conservation of the rights, honor, freedom, and inde-

pendence of German Protestantism, and opposition to all that is unprotestant and hierarchical within the various churches.

"3. The preservation and development of Christian toleration and respect between the different confessions and their adherents.

"4. The creation and promotion of all those Christian undertakings which are the conditions of the moral power and welfare of our people."

From this it is evident that the Association was more concerned about church polity than a doctrinal basis. Indeed, so heterogeneous were the elements, that doctrinal agreement was out of the question. Baumgarten, at this convention, and afterwards, wanted something more positive, some definite doctrinal statement; but he was informed that the Association must first agree as to negations, and that the positive elements must be expected as the result of development. Professor Baumgarten, however, discovered that he was out of place, and in a few years withdrew from the Association.

The above resolutions, together with the speeches during the convention, indicate that the stress was laid on religious freedom, on the development of the congregational element, and on the adaptation of religion to modern culture. A kind of democratic church was desired, without doctrinal restrictions, in which all who have religious needs can feel at home.

Many of Rothe's friends were greatly surprised at his interest in the new organization. However unobjectionable the principles adopted might be, the leaders were nearly all men who rejected miracles and supernatural inspiration. But Rothe was very tolerant; and he hoped from the movement a step toward the realization of a favorite idea. In 1837 he published a book on "The Beginnings and Organization of the Christian Church," in which he expressed the conviction that the church is only a temporary institution, whose place is eventually to be taken by the state. Religion and morality, he held, will completely permeate each other, and Christianity will affect and control all the interests of man, namely, art, science, literature, public life, etc.; that is, its interests will not be so limited as those of the church at present, but will include all that belongs to the state. When the leaven of the gospel has fully permeated the community and all its affairs, the church will no longer be needed, but will be absorbed by the state. This view is also found in his "Ethik;" and in the effort to establish a free, democratic church, he hoped to see an advance toward his ideal. Hence, in his address at the Convention, he

emphasized the harmony of religion and culture, and held that Christianity is to enter a new arena, namely, the "large field which modern culture tills, the entire sphere of our state, and of national life." He also said, "As far as doctrine is concerned, the church of Christ must preach to the present generation, therefore, in its own tongue, namely, by means of its own emotions, thoughts, and modes of expression; not in a dogmatic form, which belongs to a period long past, and which has now become almost wholly historic, — in a word, not in a statutory form. The real demand of the age is more concerned about the great and peculiar historic facts, through which there is a divine revelation in the world."

Rothe is dead, Baumgarten has withdrawn, and new positive men have not been drawn into the Protestant Association. It has grown in numbers, but not in doctrinal definiteness. From recent utterances of its leaders it is evident that its strength still consists largely in negations and protests. It wants to retain the church, and speaks of it as the hope of the world, but the church in its sense is ethical and religious rather than doctrinal; it wants to retain the Scripture, but with the admission of the correctness of negative criticism, and with the perfect liberty of every one to interpret it for himself as a religious book; it wants to retain Christ, but without being bound by any orthodox doctrines respecting Him. It emphasizes the formal principle of the Reformation, the freedom of each to interpret Scripture for himself; but rejects the material principle, the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ.

The principles of the Association do not exclude the orthodox; but very naturally these are not attracted by men who have no positive creed. Still there are a few members who can hardly be classed with rationalists, since they admit the resurrection of Jesus. But they are exceptions to the general rule. There are also members who seek to secure a distinct doctrinal basis, though there seems to be but little hope of success. Nor are all the rationalists in the Association. It, in fact, protests against those radicals who try to rob Christianity of all that is peculiar, who make Jesus a mere Jew, a friend of humanity, a teacher of freedom, virtue, and brotherly love, and who either rob the historic Jesus of all that is ideal, or else make Him a myth. The Association, while distinguishing between the real historic Jesus and the Christ of John and of Paul, whom it regards as an idealization, still views him as really teaching the true doctrine of God, as

leading the way to the Father, and as having introduced the most perfect religion which can be given to humanity. There is indeed no official declaration that these views are held, but they may be regarded as an average of the doctrinal position of the members, some approaching still nearer to evangelical theologians, others diverging farther to the left.

The utterances of representative men leave no doubt respecting the general character and purpose of the Association. A member recently said, "We protest against hierarchical Romanism, the mortal enemy of Protestantism; against hierarchical, and therefore unprotestant, partisanship in the midst of us; against a subjective, and therefore unevangelical, exaggeration of Protestant ecclesiastical freedom; and against godless and unideal materialism." Another leader says, "The Protestant Church, instead of being a church of theological doctrines, is rather a communion of religious life. This life can exist even with a manifold variety of theological views, just as a healing fountain can bring health to all, even if their opinions of its remedial ingredients are very different. Therefore Christ neither gave nor required the acceptance of a dogmatic system, but demanded that each one should take up his cross and follow Him. Without injury to the character and existence of our church, we can make its gates wide for all such religious views as can be harmonized with a Christian religious life." The churchly liberalism, he says, "is no theological school, no new dogma."

This negative attitude toward doctrine was illustrated by the Protestant Association of Bavaria in 1871. A catechism was adopted which ignores the doctrine of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, natural depravity, and the atonement. The formula of baptism also omits the Apostles' Creed.

At the organization of the *Protestanten Verein*, and since then, Professor Schenkel has been one of the most influential leaders. In 1864 he published "*Das Charakterbild Jesu*," a work depending largely on the results of the criticisms of Baur and Strauss. The example of Renan inspired Schenkel to give a popular representation of Jesus. He says that he aims "to give a truly human and really historic representation of the life of Jesus." The book is founded mainly on Mark, whose Gospel he pronounces the oldest and most reliable, deserving the preference over the others because it omits "the legendary prehistoric" account of Christ's birth, and also the appearance of the risen Jesus and his ascension. He pronounces Chap. xvi, 9-20 apocryphal. He holds that the Gospel

of John dates from the year 120, and gives an idealized picture of Jesus. Matthew and Luke are but secondary authorities, and should only be used after thorough criticism. Jesus he pronounces the son of Joseph. He indeed appeared to his disciples after his crucifixion, but it was simply an inner, visionary, spiritual appearance, just as the living Christ, as the spirit of the church, lives to this day and will continue to live. In 1866 Schenkel declared that the time needs "a truly human Saviour whose characteristics are not lost in the mist clouds of supernatural phantasies, but which appear to us in fresh truthfulness, appeal to us in a human manner, and may expect general acceptance." In the same address he said: "The labors of the ablest and most earnest investigators for more than a century have proved incontrovertibly that the Biblical books, like all others, originated in a natural way; that they must be tested like all other books; and that their historic worth and their trustworthiness must be determined by the results of this test."

Among the influential writers on dogmatics is Professor Biedermann of Zürich. His "*Christliche Dogmatik*" appeared in 1869. He admits his great indebtedness to Hegel, and says of Strauss, whom he frequently quotes: "I know how much I have been indebted to Strauss from the beginning of my theological studies, and shall never be reticent in fully acknowledging this; the less shall I be silent the more others withhold this acknowledgment." But he does not want to be regarded as simply a disciple of Strauss. He defines religion as an inter-relation between God as the Infinite and man as the finite. But what is God? Biedermann declares that He is absolute, but claims that absoluteness cannot be reconciled with personality, therefore he rejects the latter. God is absolute spirit, or the spiritual principle of the universe, or *actus purus*. The pantheism is undisguised, and the immortality of the soul is resolved into an idea. It is surprising that the book bears the title: "*Christian Dogmatics*." In Switzerland his influence is probably much greater than in Germany.

Professor Lipsius, of Jena, in his "*Lehrbuch der evangelisch-protestantischen Dogmatik*" (1876, second edition 1879), frequently quotes Biedermann favorably, and is thoroughly rationalistic, but he is more positive than the Zürich professor, and accepts a personal God and the immortality of the soul. Christ, as held by the Church, he regards as an idealization of the historic Jesus and a transformation of an ideal into history. The union of the divine and human in Christ, he claims, is not literal, but signifies that the

man Jesus was filled with the divine Spirit. Christ is the ideal man made in the image of God. He is the Redeemer because He is the founder of a church which knows itself to be reconciled to God. This reconciliation is not accomplished through Christ's death as a sacrifice, but God reconciles man to himself in that God's eternal redemptive will is historically realized in Christ for the church. Christ's presence with believers is only the presence of his characteristics in them, such as his aim of life and his love.

The theology of the future is sketched by another leader and one of the founders of the Protestant Association. Dr. C. Schwartz, Court-preacher in Gotha, gives the hopes of his party, at the close of his "History of the Latest Theology" (3d edition, 1864). "The church of the present day is to be built up by means of the deepest conscience of the people, not by means of formulas of past centuries And how shall the purification of our theology and church be accomplished? Above all, by means of a consistent, truly *speculative*, united, and systematic view of the universe (*Weltanschauung*); by overcoming the external supernatural form which has become foreign to our thinking; by fully and honestly rejecting the same as well as all its remnants and appendices, with the clear conviction that the substance of Christianity will lose by this rejection nothing but the form of externality and arbitrariness in the revealing activity of God. Theology will therefore be *speculative*, holding aloof from the pantheistic and atheistic aberrations of speculation, and opposing, with equal decision, all arbitrary and all miracle theology, together with their modern embellishments." This theology of the future will be critical, will treat the Bible as it does profane literature, and will reject the inspiration of the Scriptures and their authoritative character. It will, however, be religious and moral, and, according to the teaching of Schleiermacher, will see the essence of religion in the emotional nature. On this basis it will seek to reconstruct the doctrines of religion, and to harmonize Christianity and modern culture. The author admits that this is rationalism, but claims that it is much higher than the old kind. It is the rationalism of a reason given and filled by God; and this reason, taking the place of the authority of Scripture and of every other standard, is to be the final appeal.

The rationalists, as well as the evangelical theologians, aim at the reconciliation of religion and the antagonistic culture, but they seek to accomplish this in different ways. The evangelical scholars make the Biblical doctrines the starting-point. Some of them

may yield positions which are regarded as orthodox, or they may strive to give old doctrines a new form, and to establish them by means of new proofs; but under no circumstances are they ready to give up the supernatural elements of religion, or the redemptive character of Christianity. The new rationalism, however, starts with the negative results of criticism, and then tries to save what is left of religion. Accordingly, the doctrines of Christianity are either ignored, or are so recast as to suit the culture which is to be conciliated; but the emotional and the moral elements of religion are the more emphasized. As the Scriptural authority is weakened, more stress is laid on the psychological basis of religion in man himself. Indeed, man's needs are largely made the source and authority of religion; and frequently expressions are used which savor of Feuerbach's view, that religion is nothing but a product of man's nature to which no objective reality corresponds. Generally, however, rationalism draws from the subjective needs the inference that the objects of religion, such as God and immortality, are real.

In a word, the evangelical theologians aim to win scholars to the gospel; the rationalists aim to adapt Christianity to the culture of the day.

The Friends of Positive Union, as well as the confessional Lutherans, oppose the recognition of the Protestant Association as part of the state church. But the Association insists on its right to remain in that church, and one of its members gives the following reasons for the coexistence and coöperation of the orthodox and liberals in the same state church in spite of their differences. "Both regard Christianity as the most perfect religion; as one which is recognized and proclaimed as a social and moral power whose place nothing else can take. Both hold that there is an ethical relation of the Divine Being to man. Both claim that the Christian's highest aim is, to become a son of God. Both hold that the revelation which each individual experiences in his own spirit is most fully represented historically in the person of Jesus Christ. Neither party desires to separate Christianity from the Person of its founder. Both testify with the Apostle: God was in Christ; and his life must be made the starting-point of all religious life. To both of them Christ is not merely the religious starting-point, the founder of religion, but also the ideal to which in the various degrees of its religious life humanity looks. Both exhort to a holy Christian life by following Christ. In the department of humane effort and active love there is a field in which all

can coöperate in the spirit of peaceful rivalry. Finally, both use the same means, namely, instruction, edification, admonition, preaching, prayer, and pastoral visitation."

Besides the persons already mentioned, Professor Hase, of Jena, the well known writer on church history, and Professor O. Pfleiderer, of Berlin, author of a "*Religionsphilosophie*" and of a compend on Christian doctrine and ethics, belong to this tendency.

4. *The School of Ritschl.*

Albrecht Ritschl (born 1822) formerly belonged to the Tübingen school; but a more careful study of the history of the early church led him to abandon its position. Since 1864 he has been theological professor in Göttingen. His most elaborate work is "*The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Redemption*," in three volumes, a second edition of which has just appeared. He aims to give the Scriptural, historical, and dogmatic exposition of the doctrine. So comprehensive is the work, and so fully does it discuss related subjects, that it may be regarded as a system of Christian dogmatics from the stand-point of the author's view of justification and redemption. For the study of his theology this work is by far the most important. Valuable for the same purpose are two brochures, one entitled, "*Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*," 1875 (second edition 1881); and the other, "*Theologie und Metaphysik*," 1881. The former is intended for religious instruction in gymnasia, and gives a condensed summary of his theology.

Ritschl wants to free theology from the influence of metaphysics, and this effort is very significant in determining the character of his system. He holds that if philosophy is used for the purpose of discovering the objects of religion or their character, it impedes the progress of theology by introducing ideas, discussions, and methods, which have no religious significance, and which produce distraction without settling anything. He has no confidence in natural theology, and does not resort to it for apologetic purposes. Kant's position, that metaphysics teaches us nothing respecting God, freedom, and immortality, is also Ritschl's view. Like Kant, he also bases religion on the moral nature in man, "on the rock of duty." He holds that in man's own nature it has so firm a foundation that it requires no metaphysical proofs. Not only do man's needs, especially those of a moral, practical character, demand a God, but they are also proof of his existence. The *ought* of conscience would be absurd and inexplicable if there were

no God. This again savors strongly of Kant's effort to make the practical reason give to man that respecting which metaphysics, or the speculative reason, had failed to teach him anything.

This makes it evident why Ritschl's theology has been called "New Kantianism." Placing it on a moral foundation, he aims to make religion thoroughly practical. Instead of inquiring into the metaphysical character of the being of God, he wants simply to consider Him so far as He is related to man and has communicable attributes. Thus he holds that the doctrine of the omnipotence and omniscience of God has no significance for the explanation of nature, but only for the purpose of assuring the believer of the providential care of his heavenly Father. "Therefore the thought of the omnipotence of God is consistently perfected in that of his wisdom, omniscience, and helpfulness, in relation to the condition and needs of men." Again he says: "Love is the perfect Christian conception of God." He is a spiritual person, He is the only God, and is the Creator of the world and the Ruler of all.

Ritschl aims at nothing less than a revolution in theological thinking, at the same time seeking to promote the development of the existing religious life. Theologically, his place is between the evangelical school and the rationalists; but chronologically he comes last, his being the latest system.

He rejects the doctrine of natural depravity, and declares Augustine's view, that the original inclination to sin is propagated by generation and is viewed as personal guilt, which is punished with eternal damnation, as not confirmed by a single writer in the New Testament. Sin is not made universal by natural generation, nor by a necessity of man's nature or surroundings, though the circumstances in which he is placed allure him to sin. Ritschl says: "Sin is apparently an unavoidable product of the human will amid the given conditions of its development; nevertheless, in the consciousness of our freedom and independence, it is regarded as guilt." The fact of universal sinfulness must be admitted. Jesus was an exception, — He was sinless; but this is not to be regarded as at all in conflict with his humanity.

The calamities which come on man cannot be viewed as a divine punishment for sin. They are simply the product of nature, occasioned either by the natural course of events or resulting naturally from the sins of men. Properly speaking, the term divine punishment can be applied only to our subjective state produced by our consciousness of guilt, such as the interference with our free-

dom and a lack of confidence in God. From this subjective divine punishment we are delivered by the redemption in Christ. This redemption is the forgiveness of sin, which simply means that the separation from God, caused by guilt, is overcome. The effect of redemption is nothing but the restoration of man to communion with God, and the removal of everything from man which kept him from God.

Ritschl teaches that, as far as his nature is concerned, Christ is mere man. That which brings Him into relation with God is his faith, his purpose, and his life. We can speak of his preëxistence; but its meaning is, that it was the eternal purpose of God's love that Jesus should come into the world and gather under himself, as the Head, all the faithful. So we can speak of the continuous reign of Christ; but its sense is, that the divine will which purposes the establishment of the kingdom still continues.¹ He summarizes his doctrine respecting Christ in the following passage: "In order to get a complete conception of the significance of Jesus, we must take into account the fact that his mission, or the aim of his life, namely, the establishment of the kingdom of God, is recognized by himself as the special aim of God in the world. The unity with God, which Jesus accordingly asserts for himself, applies to the whole sphere of his activity within his calling, and therefore consists in the inter-relation existing between the love of God and the faithfulness of Jesus to his mission. Now Jesus, because He was the first to realize in his own life the purpose of the establishment of God's kingdom, is the only one of his kind; for if any one else were to accomplish the same task as perfectly as He did, he would be unlike Him in that he would be dependent on Him. Hence, as the archetype of humanity, which is to be organized into the kingdom of God, He is the original object of the divine love, so that the divine love toward the members of God's kingdom is mediated through Him. If, therefore, we estimate according to its full worth this person laboring in his peculiar calling, — a person whose constant motive is recognized as unselfish

¹ A disciple of Ritschl, Julius Thikötter, of Bremen, says: "Eine Präexistenz Christi kennt auch Ritschl, aber es ist die, welche ewig im Liebeswillen Gottes begründet ist, der vor Grundlegung der Welt beschlossen hat, dass die Gemeinde im eingebornen Sohne unter ein Haupt verfasst werde. Ein überirdisches Walten Christi nach der Auferstehung ist auch seinem Glauben gewiss; aber es ist die Fortdauer desselben Willens, der auf die Herstellung des Reiches Gottes gerichtet ist, eines Willens, dessen transcendentethätigkeit im Einzelnen wir nicht kennen." *Darstellung und Beurtheilung der Theologie Albrecht Ritschl's*, p. 32.

love to men, — we shall see in Jesus the perfect revelation of God as love, grace, and faithfulness." Ritschl means that Christ's purpose is the same as God's, and that therefore in Christ we have a revelation of the divine will.

Christ is the author of redemption. This must not, however, be taken to mean that He renders satisfaction to God for the sins of the world by means of his death. Ritschl regards that death as merely the culmination of his faithfulness to his calling. He bore the sin and punishment of no one; but so unreservedly did He devote himself to his mission, that He willingly endured the sufferings and death connected therewith, recognizing them as part of the divine purpose. This faithfulness to his calling in life and death may be viewed as a sacrifice, as a free offering of himself to God. His aim in this faithfulness was not merely personal; He wanted thereby to bring humanity into the same relation to God which He himself sustained to the Father. He accomplished all that was required to make the communion of himself and all men with God possible.

The result of Christ's faithfulness is the establishment of God's kingdom. Such prominence is given to this kingdom, that in the "Unterricht" it comes first. God aims at its establishment, and so does Christ; hence in Christ's aim we have a revelation of God. In order that this kingdom may be founded, God does not demand an atonement for sin. In the sacrifices of the Old Testament Ritschl seeks the key for the interpretation of Christ's sacrifice. His conclusion is, that in the death of Jesus there is nothing to appease God's wrath or to effect in any manner a change in the relation of God to man. He claims that God, being love, has no enmity toward man, and needs no reconciliation; but man, being at enmity with God, needs reconciliation to Him. This is brought about by Christ's faithfulness in life and death, by means of which He proved that God wants men to come to himself. Thus Christ's sacrifice, redemption, forgiveness, have significance for the sinner only; through these, without any further act or merit on his part, he is brought into communion with God. These change the sinner's attitude to God, not God's attitude toward him. The justification of the sinner means that through Christ he has obtained confidence in the love of God as a Father, and that his guilt is no obstacle in the way of communion with Him. Thus restored to God, the believer will experience all the blessings of forgiveness, and his justification becomes the source of the Christian life.

The church ascribes divinity to Christ and calls him the Son of

God. Ritschl explains it in this way. In Jesus we have the love, patience, purpose, and the victory over the world, which are also characteristic of God. Christ, therefore, in manifesting these qualities in his life and death, gave a perfect revelation of God, and for this reason divinity has been ascribed to Him. He says: "It is presupposed that the divinity of Christ is not intended to indicate an absolute distance between his person and the members of his church. Originally, that attribute was rather meant in this sense: that the divinity of Christ is a direct guaranty that the whole human nature is to be made divine." Nevertheless, Christ is peculiar, for none can share with Him the glory of founding the kingdom of God. He is also the Lord of the kingdom; and as its Founder and Lord He is an object of love.

Christ being godlike, every believer is through his example and teaching also to become godlike in heart and purpose and life. The perfect religion was given to the world by Christ, and for a knowledge of it we depend solely on the Scriptures. Being a religion which redeems man, it does not merely restore him to God in conversion, but it also keeps him from sin. It frees man from sin's dominion, makes him master of himself, raises him above the evils of this life, and gives him the victory over the world. That redemption which removes from man everything which keeps him from God, also gives him the assurance that he is justified. This assurance is attained by confidence in God and through the Christian graces, such as patience amid sufferings, and humility. He who believes in Christ's revelation of the Father as love and as ready to receive sinners cannot doubt his access to God. Thus men are saved through faith in Jesus Christ.

This theology, which aims to be wholly practical, which professes to stand solely on Scripture, which denies the divinity of Christ's nature and yet admits his sinlessness and his resurrection, and which retains the usual religious terms, but gives them a new meaning, is exciting much and violent discussion. In books, pamphlets, reviews, and religious journals, it is treated as the burning question in theological literature; and numerous pastoral conferences have passed condemnatory resolutions. A prominent orthodox minister recently said: "We have more reason to fear it than the Protestant Association." It is still in a formative state, and the school is actively engaged in developing and defending it. Already it has won able adherents, among them Professors W. Herrmann, of Marburg, Bender, of Bonn, and, in some of the main points, Kaftan of Berlin, the successor of Dörner, appointed in spite of his protest.

It is impossible to determine the strength and influence of each of the four parties described. There are in Germany seventeen Universities with Protestant theological faculties. Nominally, eleven of these belong to the United Church, namely, Berlin, Bonn, Breslau, Halle, Greifswald, Königsberg, Marburg, Giessen, Heidelberg, Jena, Strassburg; six belong to the Lutheran, namely, Erlangen, Leipsic, Rostock, Göttingen, Kiel, Tübingen. Since 1876 the number of theological students has greatly increased. In 1863 there were 2,474; in 1876, only 1,532; in 1881, as many as 2,484. In the corresponding years the United Universities had 1,482, 679, 1,300 theological students, while the Lutheran had 992, 853, 1,184. At present the number in all the Protestant Universities is probably over one thousand more than in 1881.

The above, owing to the freedom prevalent in German Universities, gives no idea of the strength of the respective tendencies. In general, it may be said that the Confessional Lutheran tendency prevails at Erlangen, Rostock, and Leipsic, though in the last the Evangelical is also well represented. The Evangelical tendency prevails at Halle, Berlin, and Tübingen, and is strongly represented in various other Universities. Heidelberg, Jena, and Strassburg are the strongholds of rationalism.¹ The theology of Ritschl predominates at Göttingen (though the faculty also has Evangelical theologians), Giessen, and Marburg. In Breslau there are Confessional, as well as Evangelical, theologians. In Bonn there are Evangelical theologians (among them Christlieb), besides representatives of rationalism and one member of Ritschl's school. In 1881 Leipsic had the largest number of theological students, 474; Halle had 321; Berlin, 284; Tübingen, 281; Heidelberg had the least. While the number studying theology is much larger now, it is not probable that the proportion has changed much.

If we look at the different countries, we may say in general that in Prussia the Evangelical party predominates, though there are districts in which Confessional Lutheranism is influential, but the Protestant Association is weak.² In Saxony Confessional Lutheranism predominates, though the Evangelical party is also strong; rationalism has few representatives. Mecklenburg and Schleswig-

¹ It is a significant fact that in 1863, the year in which the Protestant Association was formed, Heidelberg had 110 theological students; in 1876 it had 13; in 1881, 29. This winter it has 42.

² For this summary I am largely indebted to Professor Messner of the Berlin University, whose position, as editor for twenty-five years of a religious journal, has given him special facilities for learning the tendencies prevalent in various parts of Germany.

Holstein are Confessional; Bavaria and Hanover are largely so, though in both there are members of the Protestant Association, and in the latter also representatives of Ritschl's school. Württemberg is Evangelical. In Baden and Alsace and in parts of Thuringia rationalism prevails; and if we go outside of Germany, the same must be said of Holland and Switzerland.

Often the different tendencies exist side by side, and in some countries all of them are found. While their relative strength cannot be definitely determined, there is no question that the Confessional and the Evangelical parties are far more numerous and influential in the church than the other two. They also control the largest number of the theological and religious journals. At the meeting of the Protestant Association in May, 1883, it was stated regretfully that in the largest state church, namely, in Prussia, as well as in most of the other state churches of Germany, orthodoxy still reigned supreme. But while the majority of the theological professors and of the preachers are Biblical, skepticism and religious indifferentism prevail to a large extent among the masses.

J. H. W. Stuckenberg.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

EDITORIAL.

SHALL CONGRESS INVESTIGATE DIVORCE?

NEARLY a score of petitions from different parts of the country have already been sent to Washington, asking Congress to investigate the divorce laws of the several States, and to decide whether it is best to take any action securing uniformity. These petitions will soon be followed by others. Several influential congressmen favor the investigation, and it is probable that the proposal will receive early attention.

Let us understand precisely what the movement is. Congress is not asked to legislate on this subject, for it clearly has not the power, unless, in certain cases, to give effect to decisions. The States have never committed to the United States legislation and jurisdiction concerning marriage. Only by an amendment to the Constitution, agreed to by three fourths of the States, can the federal government have any authority over marriage and divorce. Congress, then, is asked to investigate the laws of the several States, and if thought best, the statistics of divorce, in order to determine whether or not a constitutional amendment securing uniformity shall be recommended to the States. Investigation with such an object is clearly within its power.

As to the importance of having uniform laws, there can be no difference of opinion. The only question now is concerning the method of procedure. The evils of divorce are generally admitted. The rapid increase of divorce is alarming. In every State where statistics have been gathered it is found that the ratio of divorces to marriages has been advancing during the last few years. The basis of comparison is relatively unimportant. Whether the ratio is found by comparing the divorces of each year with the marriages of that year, or with the entire number of married couples residing in the State, the result is the same. Divorces are more frequently sought and obtained than in former years. This increase also has accompanied the extension of causes for which divorce may legally be granted. Governor Robinson of Massachusetts, in his message to the legislature, refers to the statistics of divorce of the last twenty years, and says, "The array of facts presented is most striking. Step by step greater facility in obtaining a dissolution of the marriage bond has been secured, the causes for full divorce have been increased from two to nine, and the party against whom a divorce has been granted may now, in all cases, after two years marry again, even in the face of a record of shameless debauchery, brutality, or profligacy. Considering the ratio of divorces to marriages, or to the population of the State, the increase in the number of divorces is alarmingly excessive. The evil is so threatening, the tendencies are so dangerous, that the protest of every

thoughtful person ought to be uttered against further destruction of the safeguards of the marriage contract, or of domestic purity and integrity." Growing disregard of the sanctity of marriage is not owing to the influx of foreigners, except in a few Western cities, for the Romish Church is uncompromisingly opposed to divorce, but is found chiefly among Americans. Moreover, some of the New England States show the largest proportion of divorces to marriages.

Ignorance of these facts is disappearing. Few reforms have made so rapid progress as divorce reform. The condition of things, of which scarcely any were aware five years ago, is now recognized on all hands. The pulpit and the press discuss the subject frequently, and conventions and conferences of the great religious denominations adopt suitable resolutions. The reform has advanced to the stage when the question is asked on all sides, What shall be done about it? On the legal side, two changes are to be desired. One, the reduction of causes for which divorce may be granted; the other, uniformity of laws in all the States, in place of existing diversity. If uniformity can be secured it is believed that a reduction of causes would also be secured. Diversity of laws is a fruitful source of easy divorce and remarriage. The law of New York allows divorce for certain causes, though not allowing the divorced person in those cases to remarry. But the person divorced in New York may go over into Pennsylvania, marry again, and immediately return to New York to live. A Massachusetts man gains a residence in Rhode Island, or in some Western State, applies for a divorce, gains his case by default of the other party to appear, who knows nothing of the appeal, and marries again on the way home. Instances of this sort might be multiplied indefinitely. Since not only morals, but also tenure of property, and other legal rights, are affected by this condition of affairs, the evil is deplorable for every reason.

How shall uniformity be secured? Governor Robinson apparently favors concurrent action of the States. He says, "Uniformity in legislation in all the States is in the highest degree desirable. I submit to you to consider whether it would not be wise to inaugurate measures by conference, or otherwise, toward concurrence of action throughout the country." This may prove to be the best method. It may be found to have decided advantages. Meantime, the measure proposed in the petition to Congress has much to commend it, and does not conflict with any action which may be taken by this or that State. The petitioners do not beg that the Constitution may be amended, but that inquiries may be made, as a result of which an intelligent decision may be reached as to the best method of securing uniformity. The facts may show that there is need of an amendment, or they may show that there is no such need. If an amendment is recommended, its character could be wisely determined. If an amendment is not thought advisable, the States would have the benefit of the information gained to guide them in securing uniformity

concurrently. If it is left to the States, there would, of course, be the danger that afterwards this or that State would add to the number of causes; but this danger might, perhaps, be guarded against. A very important suggestion is that made by Rev. Mr. Dike, the first authority on this subject in the country, and also an earnest and indefatigable defender of the sacredness of the family. He says, "If an amendment to the Constitution in the interests of uniformity were found necessary, it might, and it might not, transfer jurisdiction of divorce, or of marriage and divorce, to the federal courts. The entire effect of the amendment might be simply to prescribe a uniform basis on which marriage and divorce laws, in the several States, should be made and administered. Thus the whole matter might be left to the administrative care of the several States as completely as it now is, and with the advantage of fixed uniformity, without disturbing the relation of the States to the general government." Mr. Dike evidently does not care for definite action until a later time, when the facts are gathered. The first object of the memorial is to gain information. Its supporters are by no means committed to the method of amending the Constitution, some of them being in favor of the inter-state method of securing uniformity. What is wanted is an intelligent basis of procedure.

It is not unlikely that the legal bearings of the subject may be found to be international. Our relations with Canada in this respect, and with more distant countries, may require attention.

It may be that the agitation of the Mormon iniquity will induce Congress to make this investigation. Congressmen, who, for political reasons, are opposed to disturbing the Mormons, might remind New England Senators, when they advocate harsh measures, that the condition of things with the family is no better than it should be in their own States; that under easy divorce the only difference between Utah and New England is, that in Utah polygamy consists in having several wives simultaneously, while in New England polygamy is consecutive. Needed legislation against Mormonism might be impeded by attaching divorce inquiry as a rider. More improbable attempts have been successful. It is important, then, that the evils growing out of conflicting laws of marriage and divorce in the States should be considered by themselves, and considered soon.

The individualism which lies at the root of easy divorce has gone too far. Unmixed selfishness chafes under the restraints of marriage, and seeks more congenial companionship. The fancied rights of the individual make him unmindful of his duties. The family must not be sacrificed to the individual. The facility with which divorce may be procured makes many marriages mere experiments. The solemn promise no longer means "till death us do part," but till one of us becomes tired of the other. There are those who do not leave out of sight the laxity of law, even at the moment of marriage. Stringent divorce laws would di-

minish the number of hasty marriages. No relation, indeed, should be more carefully dealt with than this. Bungling legislation would work untold mischief. But, on the other hand, neither should purity of morals, good order, the rights of children, and the sacredness of the family be neglected to secure individual liberty which, in this case, is too often mere license.

OPINIONS AT SECOND-HAND.

At a recent meeting of an association of ministers, Professor Ladd's book on the Bible was the subject of discussion. Nearly all the clergymen present expressed themselves unfavorably. At length some one said he should like to know how many had read the book and were therefore capable of forming an opinion, when it appeared that not one of them had read it, and only three had even seen it. They had accepted without question the critical (or uncritical) judgment of some religious newspaper or periodical.

Unfortunately, this instance is not singular, nor is this mode of criticism limited in its application to one class of writings. Jonathan Edwards complained that his opponents, themselves clergymen, did not understand nor carefully read his published works. No assumption is safer, indeed, than that every book which departs from current views will be condemned by many who have never seen it, but who follow the opinions of others, and thus criticise at second or third hand. Dr. Bushnell had good reason to complain that his adversaries did not take pains to obtain correct knowledge of his views, but blindly followed the lead of untrustworthy critics. During earlier controversies in Connecticut the same injustice was suffered on both sides.

It is surprising that educated men, men who profess to be guides in religious thought, and from whom candor at least should be expected, will adopt at second-hand conclusions which should be accepted only after careful examination, and upon subjects which involve the most sacred interests. That should be an oracle well-nigh infallible, whose deliverances are not questioned, and which supersedes the need of forming one's own intellectual judgments. When the Pope issues an Index Expurgatorius, all good Roman Catholics accept it as final, but it can hardly be believed that educated ministers in New England, and at this time of day, will meekly adopt as irresponsible, and for aught they know, unintelligent opinion. It is not affirmed that every minister is bound to read every new book on Biblical criticism or theology, for life is short, the world is busy, and of making many books there is no end; but it should go without saying that no book which is the result of wide and patient research, and which is put forth with honest intentions, should be condemned by those who are ignorant of its contents, merely because a newspaper, which avows itself the organ of opposite views, sees fit to criticise it unfavorably.

Compare with this blind following of guides, who may themselves be blind, the judicial temper which refuses to form conclusions without direct knowledge. A well-known lawyer who is widely interested in theology remarked concerning a publication which was exciting much attention that it was not competent for him to express an opinion, for he had not examined the work. When speaking, however, of a pamphlet which was making some stir he pronounced emphatically concerning it, and claimed the right to do so because he had studied it with painful diligence. A professor of political economy was asked what he thought of a certain speech by a member of Congress, who was also prominent in religious and educational circles, a speech which had been praised and blamed with equal heat. The professor said, "You must excuse me from giving an opinion, for I have seen only brief reports and partisan comments in the newspapers. I hope to have the full text in a few days." The oft-repeated and urgent advice of a wise instructor to his pupils was, "Verify your references, verify your references." As far as possible have knowledge at first-hand. If at second-hand, do not take for granted the intelligence and honesty of your informant.

Let one suffer from second-hand criticism of his own views, and he will perceive the depravity of it. At a convention composed of men who are not classed as orthodox, or even progressively orthodox, a discussion was held on the rational use of the Bible. One speaker after another satirized the uses of the Bible declared to be habitual with evangelical preachers, and ridiculed their theories of inspiration. The speakers may have believed all they said, but, if so, they were grossly misinformed, and had taken exceptions as the rule. An orthodox preacher, who sat in a corner of the church, boiled with indignation as he listened to such misrepresentations, and lost his night's sleep in righteous anger. Quietness came only with the charitable reflection that he and his beloved church were the victims of second-hand criticism.

If preachers allow others to read books for them, yet talk as confidently as if they did their own reading, they also allow others to think for them, and theologize for them, and believe for them. The clerical profession is often compared unfavorably with the legal profession in this very respect, and doubtless with some justice. It is said that lawyers (and the same might be said of physicians and students of the natural sciences) are more cautious than clergymen in reaching conclusions, and especially are slower to adopt the opinions of others. The conditions under which a preacher finds himself make this one of his peculiar dangers. The lawyer knows that another lawyer sits inside the rail of the court-room, ready to scrutinize his citation and challenge his opinion, and after a few exposures of his mistakes he learns to verify his references and to have a reason for the opinion that is in him. But preachers are exempt from immediate reply to any, even the rashest statements; their assertions are never publicly, and seldom privately, challenged; and

congregations always appear to be in a docile, uncritical mood. Indeed, there are some who consider it wrong to criticise sermons, and the preacher himself occasionally rebukes those who listen in a critical spirit. It is thought a virtue to speak favorably of a sermon which is mistaken in its facts and prejudiced in its assertions. These conditions easily induce a careless habit on the part of the preacher in forming opinions on all subjects, and may encourage a foolish and fatal facility in adopting the strong assertions of others merely because they fall in with his own preconceived notions. The fact, also, that the preacher is expected to speak positively, giving forth, as the phrase goes, no uncertain sound, tends to make him dogmatic on subjects of which he may be densely ignorant, or upon which he has only borrowed opinions. Clergymen need to guard themselves against this constant and subtle temptation to inaccuracy and dogmatism. The pulpit is brought into disrepute among thinking men because the temptation is not resisted. Said a sensible man, when a minister's name was given as authority for a statement, "ministers take one-sided views." Silently, but surely, a verdict is forming against the preacher, if he is unguarded in his assertions, and thus the gospel loses some of its advantage. The Word of God may be handled deceitfully and even ignorantly. Unwittingly, because he does not verify his references, the speaker does injury to his good cause. It is still worse when he deliberately trusts to the ignorance of his audience. He lets a statement go, although he is a little doubtful of it, because he thinks no one will suspect it. The unqualified assertion that the first chapter of Genesis in all its details is in exact agreement with the latest conclusions of physical science would not be so stoutly maintained if the preacher should perceive a professional scientist in the congregation. Farmers and sailors despise a minister whose profuse illustrations exhibit his ignorance of agriculture and navigation. Even concerning subjects with which they are not familiar, plain people have a fine instinct to distinguish knowledge based on facts from assertion based on borrowed opinion. They sometimes doubt whether the eminent authorities claimed as advocates of the views which the speaker adopts are fairly dealt with. They feel that detached sentences in the writer's very language may give a wrong impression. What else does he say?

We would not bring a railing accusation against our brethren in the ministry. The judicial temper is sometimes found in the pulpit. But, for the reasons given, preachers are in danger of allowing their assertions to outrun their knowledge. If they become identified with a party in the church, they are all the more likely to pass unfavorable judgment on the books, views, and even character, of those who belong to the opposing party. The man who does his reading at second-hand will surely do his preaching at second-hand, and will show himself a partisan.

We have dwelt on the injury done by want of fairness and of personal knowledge to the preacher himself and to the gospel he stands to de-

fend,—we might have emphasized other evils. In the case of writings on religious subjects, serious injustice may be done to Christian brethren. To condemn a man unheard, to excite suspicion against a man merely because some one else sees fit to suspect him, is a wicked thing. Pretended or genuine jealousy for the truth cannot atone for unfairness. It is also probable that second-hand criticism will attribute to an author opinions he does not hold, and that strength will be wasted in misdirected opposition. Pursuit goes off on the wrong scent, and the real error is free to run where it will. If an army remains encamped before deserted fortifications, the enemy entrenching himself at another point chuckles with delight.

But, apart from all this, too much cannot be said in urging all Christian ministers to know whereof they affirm. A preacher of the gospel above all men should have the virtue of honesty. He should never deal falsely even with an enemy. It should rarely be possible for a hearer to say that in this or that particular, to his certain knowledge, there was misrepresentation. It should not be matter of surprise, as it apparently is, when it can be said of a clergyman that he is perfectly candid, and has the merit of frankness. Want of candor is always felt. "Does the preacher really mean all he says? Are these his deliberate opinions, or is he echoing the thoughts of others"? It is a bad sign when the preacher asserts in public what he qualifies or even apologizes for in conversation.

Those ministers have most influence who have most honesty. Intellectual candor, just concessions to the views of others, habitual caution in the statement of facts, give the preacher incalculable power when he does express himself with positiveness. One of the finest compliments ever paid to a Christian minister was the remark of a hearer after a sermon on an unpopular doctrine. He said: "That man would not express such views unless he had good reasons, nor unless he honestly believed them to be true."

THE METHODS OF CHRISTIAN BENEFICENCE.

THE recent death of Mrs. Valeria G. Stone, at Malden, Mass., has called fresh attention to a notable, and in some respects, a unique instance of Christian beneficence.

At the death of her husband, a few years ago, Mrs. Stone found herself in possession of property to the amount of between two and three millions. Mr. and Mrs. Stone had lived a remarkably simple and unostentatious life. He had belonged to that class of business men who prefer safety to rapid accumulation. If not fond of brilliant financiering, he was distinguished for an instinct in discerning risk, however speciously disguised, which in some men is a genius. His growing fortune brought with it no expensive ambitions, either for himself or his wife.

When its final disposition became a pressing question, a general understanding was established between them, that, after a generous provision for relatives, the bulk of the property should be devoted to educational and charitable purposes. At his death this great charge fell into the hands of Mrs. Stone. Upon the basis of a singularly kind and sympathetic nature, a life of conscientious Christian devotedness had wrought in this admirable woman a type of benevolence, as yet seldom attained even among the disciples of Him who went about doing good. Calling to her aid a gentleman exceptionally qualified to give both information and advice, she carefully made her investments where the surest and most permanent returns could be secured. It was the transfer to the interests of Christ's spiritual kingdom of the business principles and methods which her husband had used in building up his own private fortune. Not only were unworthy objects avoided, but inferior objects also. Only the *best*, regarding the elements of large returns, of safety, and of permanence, were selected. The result promises to be, so far as human foresight can determine it, that the two million dollars she has invested will yield the largest immediate profits, chiefly in the production of cultivated and scholarly minds for Christ's service, and that this income will continue for an indefinite period, increasing rather than diminishing, — a river, like that seen by the Psalmist, "the streams whereof shall make glad the city of our God."

This principle of benevolent investment, though not peculiar to this case, has yet been so marked a feature in it, as to challenge attention. It corresponds to the principle observed in business in investing trust funds. The object is security and a permanent income; while, if the element of perpetuity can be added so that the property can be handed down unimpaired to future generations, a large sacrifice of present profit is considered justifiable. No charitable investments meet all these conditions so fully as the endowments connected with educational institutions. Experience has shown their exceptional safety and their freedom from the danger of perversion. Conscientious and enlightened men have the control of them. Watchful eyes are constantly upon them. Every personal interest connected with their administration demands their protection. Very few losses have occurred, and, in these cases, such was the void created, the loss has been speedily made up, often by the custodians themselves. Still less numerous have been the instances of mal-administration; and in these cases the evil has been uniformly due to the selection by the donors themselves of trustees, identified with local interests contiguous to, but distinct from, the institutions endowed. The peculiar economy and conscientiousness of the clergy, who are largely in the preponderance among the managers of benevolent and especially of educational funds, have contributed to this result, far more than is supposed by the general public.

Another feature of this great charity, a feature which unfortunately is

a marked peculiarity of this case, in which few others have thus far shared, is that the donor has not been merely a testator, but the almoner of her own gifts. At this point also the lessons of experience are many and decisive. The difficulties attending the execution of the will of a testator, though the utmost care and foresight are employed, have become proverbial. But these difficulties, if carefully studied, will be found to cluster chiefly about the initiation of designated enterprises. At the outset will appear the struggle of the heirs-at-law, whose hopes, for long years perhaps, have grown into such confident anticipations as to inspire the honest conviction that a fraud and a robbery have been practiced upon them, when they see their treasures flowing into the channels of benevolence. Next come the perils of administration and execution; the risks of building, costly mistakes in selecting sites, or making contracts; lack of personal and competent supervision, the wastes of inexperience, the numberless methods by which legacies can be frittered away upon ill-considered and unfruitful schemes.

Mrs. Stone ran no such risks. She was content with the income of a moderate sum for her own use. She generously provided for her husband's relatives and for her own, and put them at once, and under her own eye, into possession of the portions she had designed for them. She sent joy into many a suffering but sensitive household. She aided the aspirations of many a diligent and devoted student. Her last years were made warm and bright with the gratitude of those who received her gifts, not from her executors, but from her own personal ministry. But still more compensating were her investments of the talents committed to her, in the institutions of learning which were the chief objects of her interest. Some of these became relieved from the embarrassments of years. Some were strengthened at their weakest point. All were inspired with new courage and hope. The least of the annual dividends of usefulness coming from these great charities are those first received. As the machinery they have created becomes adjusted, and other appliances become adjusted around them, a constant increment will appear in this income of educated minds and consecrated lives.

We commend this rare example of "business shrewdness," if it be not better called *Christian wisdom*, to the thought of all whose work is assigned in the department of supplies, the commissary duty, necessary as it is honorable, in the armies of the King.

WENDELL PHILLIPS: THE MAN AND HIS MANNER.

"THE King is dead: long live the King," cried the French in the old days of Monarchy, in the same breath mourning the demise of one monarch and hailing the advent of his successor. "The King is dead," cry the American people, lamenting the death of their moral king of persuasive speech. They begin the accents of welcome, "Long live the King,"

but stop at the first syllable. Welcome is changed into inquiry, Is there any? Who is he? Some say that in the death of Phillips there is an end of American eloquence; others are discoursing upon the causes that account for the Decline and Fall of American Oratory. Our present concern is not so much with the coming ruler who shall sway our hearts with his eloquence as with the incomparable voice, now forever silent, that brought every listener under its magical dominion.

To speak of Wendell Phillips as the Orator of Popular Reform is to describe his entire career. Except the sacred temple of his hearth, he knew no other devotion than the Platform as the Tribune of the people. On the threshold of manhood he discovered that his vocation was to act upon his fellow-men by his voice alone. The Sources of Power in his Oratory were peculiarly rich and varied. "There is no true eloquence," says Emerson, "unless there is a man behind the speech." The best blood of an untitled Puritan aristocracy flowed in his veins. His gentle birth and breeding imparted to his mien and bearing the easy dignity and self-poise of a patrician. Whenever Phillips spoke his audience felt that there was not only a man behind the speech, but a gentleman — one of the brave old Sir Philip Sidney and John Hampden sort. His inherited feeling for what is morally heroic and ideal gave his oratory its captivating power of style; the force of his strenuously earnest and sincere personality gave his eloquence concentration and passion; his exquisite sensibility and fineness of nervous organization pervaded voice, figure, and action with a magnetic charm of reality and naturalness. To explain his oratory is simply to say that God organized Wendell Phillips for "the mystery of commanding" multitudes by speech as He did Jenny Lind by song. It was but *natural* that he should be elegant, noble in form and feature, endowed with genius, and excite the admiration and respect of all around him. He was not merely eloquent, he was eloquence. His daily life was identical with his rhetorical life. His oratory, in its elements, was all of a piece. Ideas, style, and delivery had, in the language of criticism, "the wholeness of good tissue." Hence, the total impression of his marvelous oratory was that of polished power, steadily moving with the unconscious grace of ease.

The historical situation of the most active part of his life furnished him with some of the grandest themes that could engage an ardent soul pervaded with a passion for justice. The air was electric with the spirit of reform. He was called to the dangerous mission of speaking to an excited populace, sometimes aroused to tumult, and he accomplished his mission with the graceful power of a gentleman and a hero. Modern history affords but one parallel, the eloquent Frenchman, Alphonse de Lamartine.

While the peculiar effect of his speaking resided in the nobleness and unity of delivery as the spontaneous expression of his chaste, elegant, and heroic nature, rather than in any one of its details, the Elements of Power

were nevertheless discoverable to critical study. Upon rising to speak, he slowly buttoned his black frock-coat, and advanced to his position upon the platform with the easy deliberation of a gentleman in his drawing-room. Unlike Webster, he never appeared in the conventional evening dress. Before he opened his lips to speak, his presence filled the eye. His attitude was a subject for the sculptor. The weight of the body was usually supported upon the left foot, with the right slightly advanced at an easy angle, his head bent slightly forward and gently inclined to one side. The attitude was the union of firmness and repose, the perfect economy of muscular effort. The auditor unconsciously felt the force of the orator's own remark, — "In a public speaker, physical advantages are half the battle."

The chief weapon of his oratory was his voice. In its natural powers it was not remarkable, either for its intensity, volume, or compass. The secret of its physical influence lay partly in its peculiar "quality," or *timbre*. The musical register was a baritone, used in the upper series of the chest notes. With its absolute purity, and its density of vibratory resonance, his voice possessed a carrying power that penetrated to every part of any large audience-room. The *character* of the voice — the man in it — had the effect of "finding" its auditor. It had an *intimate* tone, as if it were speaking to each one as an unknown friend. To our ear it was the penetrating mellowness of the flute rather than the stirring note of the bugle. Another element in its magical charm was the easy method of its production. The beauty and sweetness of the instrument was much, but it needed the skillful artist to make and control the music. The modulations were regulated by the sureness of his perfect taste. They were the flexible intonations of elevated conversation. His modulation, like his style and diction, was the perfection of talking to people. It had the indescribable grace of genuineness, and the note of distinction which marks the conversational tones of a true gentleman.

In the rate of utterance he achieved the rare excellence of speaking deliberately without seeming slow. He was thus enabled to secure audibility and distinctness by giving sufficient time, or "quantity" to the formation of the open vowels and a clear-cut stamp to the consonants. Who ever heard Wendell Phillips mar his speaking by hurry? Yet who ever heard him when he did not speak like a man *alive*? His natural sense of perfection in his art led him to conform his pronunciation to the best standards. Occasionally he would make a slip. In the same speech he would say "either" and "ither," "philosophical" and "philosophical." With an indifference to the foppery of culture, he would put to frequent use the colloquialisms, "well," "can't," "was n't," "don't," "won't," "would n't," "should n't," but from his refined lips they seemed almost to gain authority and propriety. We do not speak of them for imitation; they were simply in harmony with his general colloquial method of delivery. In the use of the intellectual and emotional

instruments of expression, — “emphasis” and “force,” “inflection” and “pitch,” “movement” and “pause,” — he had a felicity which attuned them to every shade of sentiment and meaning. He possessed the power of investing significant words and phrases with a peculiarly impressive effect. Whenever he wished the audience to weigh any important thought he had just uttered, he made a most skillful use of the emphatic pause. Sometimes the pause would be made before the word ; then the word came with the added value of an aroused curiosity. But when his voice stopped, his mind did not. The interval was always filled with some expressiveness of manner that enhanced the vividness of the thought.

The dramatic expression of emotion he almost never indulged in. There was no “start theatric” in his sincere manner. There were no tears in this beautiful voice. His was a nature full of tenderness, but not of pathos. “Why cannot I make an audience cry as you do?” he once asked Anna Dickinson. “Because, Mr. Phillips, you never cry yourself,” was the truthful reply. In his poetical quotations he usually lowered his pitch, slightly retarded his movement, softened the force, and infused the tones with his deep appreciation of the sentiment, but he attempted no more. The effect was simplicity itself, but was profoundly impressive. Who that ever heard his “O’Connell” can forget the thrilling plaintiveness of melody in which he repeated the lines, — “O Ireland ! my country, the hour of thy pride and thy splendor hath passed,” etc. ? Who could lodge a witticism or tell a story with more deftness, point, and refinement of manner ? This melodious tongue had not only the honey of the bee, it had also its sting. In his most pitiless invective — and Edmund Burke was no greater master of this terrible weapon — his eyes were half closed in withering scorn, and his voice was smooth, steady, and low.

His Action was characterized by a manly force, unstudied grace, significance, and just precision. His gesture was neither vehement nor redundant. No speaker ever better understood or more finely illustrated than he did the famous dictum concerning action, — “In the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, the whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a *temperance* that may give it smoothness.” Nor did he enfeeble his delivery by too much action, any more than he weakened his vocal expression by over-emphasis. The effectiveness of his action resided in its significance and its comparative rarity, neither overdoing the significant nor multiplying insignificant movements. And yet, it was managed with so much ease and propriety that his auditors were deceived as to its frequency. He made many more gestures than he was supposed to have made. His colloquial method governed his action ; hence, there was great variety. He freely used the open palm, now with one hand, now with both. In the expression of ideas that were disagreeable to him he used the averted palm. In the more moderate emphasis of feeling he placed

the index finger, or the palm, or the fist of one hand on the supine palm of the other. Imagination influenced his gesture and led to the temperate use of symbolical action suggested by his language. In his references to objects and localities, real or imaginary, he frequently used an enforcing referential gesture. Contrasted ideas were almost always symbolized by some expressive antithetic gesture.

The difficult art of gracefully standing still before an audience he observed to perfection. The hands either hung quietly by the side, or were clasped behind or in front of him; a gesture made with one hand would sometimes be finished by allowing it to rest upon the body, or action with both hands would occasionally terminate with hands clasped and gently resting upon the body. He had no favorite mode of rest, but used all modes in a self-forgetful way. His changes of position were few, and in a narrow space. He never walked the platform. No man could be more perfectly at home upon the stage. All was animation, grace, energy, and self-possession. He was artistic with unpremeditated art. Every look, motion, and attitude seemed demanded by the sentiment being uttered, and was an integral element of the thought itself. He had that mastery of art by which he instinctively regulated all impulses to the law of beauty in attitude and movement.

Mr. Phillips's delivery in its general treatment, as has been suggested already, was colloquial in style and extemporaneous in method. His private conversation on earnest topics was simply ennobled, or *idealized*. His public speaking was his part of a public conversation addressed, as it were, to the farthest auditor. He instinctively modified his natural voice in pitch, force, and movement to suit the size of the audience-room and the local circumstances of delivery. The great master's colloquial simplicity and naturalness never could be successfully imitated. There were no tricks, eccentricities, or artifices for copyists to catch and appropriate. Many speakers consciously cultivate his repressed style, and fondly suppose that they are impressing people by their quiet manner. As disciples of "culture" they aim at being calm and "classical," but succeed only in realizing the description of the face of Tennyson's Maud:

"Faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly null."

Their moderation is mediocrity, their delicacy is weakness, because they copy only the repose of his outward manner, and possess little or nothing of the white heat of his inward fire.

Here we touch upon the Moral part of his delivery. With perfect power over voice and action, his speaking, when actually confronting an audience, was entirely an affair of the soul. The character of the speaker — his sincerity, sympathy, uprightness, and intense moral earnestness — came to the front. He completely realized Cato's ideal of an orator, — "A good man who understands speaking." Mr. Phillips's audiences felt that he was not merely a man of brilliant talents, but a man of moral

power. They saw before them a good man inspired by a profound moral passion, with the power to *communicate* his inspiration. His fire kindled their fire. As Emerson finely puts it, "The essential thing in eloquence is heat, and heat comes of sincerity." But in Phillips's case it was heat held in perfect mastery. He never lost his self-possession while allowing himself to be carried away. He impressed his audience with the influence of reserved power, but he had an abundance of mental, emotional, and moral power to reserve.

The interesting question concerning his method of oratorical training and habits of preparation, it is to be hoped, will be fully answered in his authorized biography. In response to a remark complimentary to his easy power of extemporaneous address, he said that it was the result of hard work, the joint product of temperament and experience, the fruit of close self-scrutiny and study of audiences while on his feet, and *incessant practice* in public speaking. "The chief thing I aim at," he once said, "is to master the subject I wish to speak about, and then earnestly try to get the audience to think and feel as I do about it." What is this but the secret of persuasion? The school-houses and town-halls of New England were his early training-schools. He once modestly styled himself "a caucus-speaker." After his Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge, a friend asked him if the address was extemporaneous. "It is already in type," he replied. "You will see it in the morning papers to-morrow." Without doubt, his power of address was the result of brooding over ideas rather than words, the general cultivation of mental powers, especially by reflecting upon the great events and characters of English and American history, and the renewal of his moral sympathies by frequent spiritual contact with the keen realities of life as he saw them in the mass of men. He doubtless knew his own points of oratorical power, and cherished a single-hearted, disinterested love and care for his precious birth-gift. He could self-forgetfully trust his native and acquired resources of language and gifts of voice and action. That he was studiously interested in Delivery is manifest in his generous criticisms of the qualities of manner in great orators whom he had heard, and in the frequent counsel he gave to young speakers to avail themselves of the best advantages for systematic rhetorical study and practice. He was often an enthusiastic observer of actual training in vocal culture and expressive delivery, and took delight in assisting his young kinsmen in preparing their tasks in declamation. "Be yourself," he said, in golden advice to Frederick Douglass in 1845, as the colored orator was starting for a speaking tour in England. "Never use a word in private you would not use in public. Be yourself, and you will succeed."

This noble, gifted, and influential man illustrated his own precept, "Be yourself," in character, as well as in manner. He was what he was by his limitations, as well as by his possessions. He had not all perfections united in him. With the courage of a proud man's humility, he neither

tried to hide his defects nor to parade them. He let men see him as he really was. His limitations were the negative side of his qualities and the exaggeration of his virtues. His passionate love of justice often betrayed him into great injustice towards those who differed from him. His clear, swift, moral insight not unfrequently ignored, with a feverish impatience, the complexity of this world's practical affairs. Was there a wrong to be righted? *Now* was the accepted time to do it; his, the only way. In reaching for the desired end, he was sometimes as reckless in the use of the means as the most accomplished Jesuit. He was reckless with facts, reckless in statements, and reckless with reputations. "I regard men," he said, "as I do carpenters' planes,—tools to carry out my plans." He well understood the criticism made upon his extravagance of speech. He regarded it of little importance. He defended himself as he defended O'Connell, when the great Irishman was charged with coarse and intemperate language: "Stupor and palsy," he said, "never understand life. White-livered indifference is always disgusted and annoyed by earnest conviction." He used to quote with approval Garrison's reply to a friend, who remonstrated with him on the heat and severity of his language: "Brother, I have need to be all on fire, for I have mountains of ice about me to melt."

There was both an oratorical and a moral purpose in this rhetoric of execration. He claimed that the speakers in the abolition movement "*needed* an attitude of independence that was almost insolent; they needed to exhaust even the Saxon vocabulary of scorn to fitly utter the righteous and haughty contempt that honest men had for men-stealers." They studied the Art of Irritation rather than the Art of Persuasion. The need of this method is cheerfully granted to men whose God-given mission was to create a national conscience "under the ribs of death;" but Phillips lies under condemnation for using the same ruthless oratorical methods against able and earnest friends of the reforms he worked for, many of them his attached personal friends, who sought the same lofty goal by a different, and, as it proved, more successful course.

In the treatment of social and political questions in later years he continued to employ the same terrific implements of speech, although the most of the reforms are vastly more complex in their nature and relations than was the simple character of the anti-slavery question; and all of them, excepting the temperance reform, lack the intensity of a great moral motive to warrant the display of so much energy in the eloquence of vituperation. His impatience and want of scrupulousness may yet point a moral in the exposition of the Christian Ethics of controversy.

Great questions for public discussion will arise in the future as they have arisen in the past. The great ideas and the great occasions will demand and will find voices adequate for their utterance. There may be occasional temporary obscuration of brilliant oratorical lights, but there can be no obliteration. The speaking function is a perennial one. Truth

will ever come to men in a living voice and as a living, practical example. He who is the Truth announced himself as the Word. His religion is a religion of thought, and the need of it is imperishable. But that thought was divinely ordained to move men, not through the word written, but the word *spoken*. Its eloquence is a popular eloquence, for it is first and foremost the word spoken for the saving health of the People.

Great men will be continually passing from scenes of their earthly action, and men will be sought to embalm their virtues in eloquent speech. Boston has honored herself in inviting to the tender office of eulogy for him who was so recently her First Citizen the man who, above all others, is most in sympathy with the controlling moral ideas of the dead orator, — himself a masterly orator of Popular Reform, a Puritan in conscience, a Greek in grace, endowed with the selectest gifts of public address, and whose art, embellished with the choicest literary culture, has given him Everett's place as the elegant and scholarly orator of great occasions. American oratory will suffer neither eclipse nor decadence so long as it can command the moral force, ability, experience, wisdom, and the fervid yet judicious eloquence of George William Curtis.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THREE NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES.

THE discussion concerning Probation has recently elicited three articles which deserve special notice. Two of them are important contributions to the subject, the other is valuable as a testimony and for its frankness. The first appeared in "The Presbyterian Review" for July, 1883, from the pen of Professor George L. Prentiss, D. D., of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. The second is published in "The Reformed Quarterly," January, 1884, and is contributed by Rev. E. V. Gerhart, D. D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pa. The third is to be found in "The British and Foreign Evangelical Review," January, 1884, an article on "The New Theology," by the Rev. R. M'Cheyne Edgar, M. A.

Dr. Prentiss maintains that for centuries until very recent times the dogma that all unbaptized children, dying in infancy, are lost has been held as a part of Orthodoxy, and that the modern belief that all infants will be saved is a theological "revolution," whose consequences the Church has not begun fairly to appreciate. Assuming that this tenet of universal infant salvation is now a part of Protestant Orthodoxy, he proceeds to point out its legitimate influence upon other dogmas. It does not disturb the commonly accepted views respecting original sin, for it emphasizes the conception of salvation, and thus implies that there is something to be saved from. It does, however, affect our conception of the necessary conditions of salvation. In the case of infants, we cannot

reasonably suppose any exercise of repentance, faith, or obedience. They are saved, Dr. Prentiss thinks, without any subjective conditions. The result is purely and absolutely a work of objective grace. Such a salvation is a striking testimony, the only satisfying testimony, to the fact of infant personality. It has a bearing, also, upon the traditional doctrine of the means of grace. A large portion of the race are saved without these means, without the church, without sacraments, without the written or preached word, "without any outward means whatever, except simply their birth and death in a redeemed world." The fact proves also the powerful working of divine grace outside of the pale of the Christian Church, throughout heathendom, wherever infants and young children die. It has an important bearing "upon the conception of this life as a probation." Dr. Prentiss here introduces an exceedingly interesting and valuable account of the rise of the doctrine of probation, tracing the term in its present theological use to the discussions rife in the latter part of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and particularly to the Deistic and Arminian controversies, and to Bishop Butler. The tenet that this life is a moral probation with reference to the future, he maintains, is a doctrine of natural theology, has only a subordinate position and meaning in Christian theology and church standards, and is wholly inapplicable to an immense minority of the human race. The ruling idea of Calvinism is not Probation, but "God's free, sovereign, electing grace in Christ." "In this whole sphere of Christian thought we find ourselves in contact primarily with the spiritual and personal, rather than the ethical. The aboriginal and last ground of any man's salvation, according to the Scriptures, is not that he has been under moral government and has proved faithful to its requirements, but that the Father Almighty, out of his infinite love and compassion, chose, called, and redeemed him." Dr. Prentiss thus not only denies the applicability of the term probation to infants, but also to all the saved, though in their case it may be used in a subordinate sense, namely, that they are subjected to a discipline by which they are trained, and more rapidly trained, for the heavenly service. Nor does the word, strictly taken, suit any better the remaining class, namely, "those who are at once responsible, and out of Christ." Such persons have the offer of the gospel, and opportunity to accept it; "we may, indeed, call this opportunity a probation, but does it not lack some of the vital elements of a real, complete probation? *That* would seem to involve a certain freedom, an autonomy of will, scarcely consistent with the spiritual bondage and alienation from God, which is a distinctive mark of our natural state. . . . Now just here, as it seems to me, is the knot to be untied. Some endeavor to untie it by ascribing to the natural man such freedom of will and power of attaining to true virtue, as may enable him of himself to secure the rewards of eternity. The evangelical view maintains that the natural man, while endowed with reason and conscience, and strictly responsible for his own character, is yet utterly unable of himself to secure eternal life; that he needs, therefore, first of all, to be saved, not proved; and that he can be saved only by God's free grace in Christ." "In answer then to the question, 'Is this life a probation?' I reply both yes and no. Yes; probation enters into it, on its ethical side, as a subordinate element; there is in this life more or less of moral trial. No; probation is not its most essential, universal character, and fails utterly to meet some of the principal facts in the

case. Redemption, not probation; no mere ethical system nor any doctrine of natural religion, but Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, is the real key both to the meaning and the perplexing mysteries of this life."

The next topic considered by Dr. Prentiss as affected by this new and revolutionary belief in the universal salvation of infants is the salvability of the heathen. He denies that we can hold that all heathen infants are saved, and logically stop there. "Universal infant salvation . . . does not and cannot stand alone; it has a most important bearing upon the whole soteriological doctrine. It shows how inconceivably wide and deep is God's mercy in Jesus Christ. It shows that, speaking after the manner of men, He is doing all He can do for the actual redemption of the world; nothing keeps any soul from the gracious operation of his infinite love and pity but its own willful choice of evil and refusal of the good."

We have not space to follow Dr. Prentiss further in his article. It is one of the most suggestive, candid, comprehensive essays in the literature of this subject.

Mr. Edgar's article need detain us but for a single quotation. Dr. Prentiss subordinates the notion of Probation; Mr. Edgar rejects it *in toto*. He says: "Our 'New Theologians' have no proper conception of human probation. They insist on probation, not only in the present life, but even after death. But we are not in a state of probation. We are either in a state of condemnation, or in a state of salvation by a Redeemer. It is a deception of souls to tell them otherwise. . . . Human probation ended in Eden. Men have since been either under condemnation, or they have escaped condemnation through believing. It is only loose thinking which represents things otherwise." This is at least unambiguous. The probation of all of us was long ago passed in Adam. No human being has any other, here or hereafter.

We pass to Dr. Gerhart's article. Dr. Prentiss assumed, as a theological axiom, the universal salvation of infants. Dr. Gerhart concedes that we may entertain the hope of such an issue, but denies that it can be accepted as a truth so assured and incontrovertible that other doctrines, seemingly well established, must necessarily give way before it. Dr. Prentiss's method is still further embarrassed by the apparent assumption that death is universally decisive as to future destiny. This leads him into representations of infant salvation which it is impossible to relieve of a magical character. Dr. Gerhart's strongest and most successful criticisms are directed to this point. "If grace," he remarks, "may work its saving effects in the subjects of salvation 'without condition,' that is, if God may deliver moral agents from the perverting forces, not to say condemnation, of moral evil, whether the subjects by their own active response appropriate the redemptive virtue of the Mediator or do not appropriate his mediatorship, then 'renewing grace' becomes divine magic; and a magical salvation, instead of annulling the perverting forces of moral evil, is itself an abnormal and alien force; for it deals with a moral agent, not according to the autonomy of his ethical life, but as if he were a passive subject possessing only an unethical nature. . . . The sentiment that a person may be redeemed who does not believe in the only redemption, . . . is, it seems to me, plainly a contradiction in terms." Dr. Gerhart meets the difficulties in which Dr. Prentiss becomes involved by adducing certain "general Christian principles

which are definitely taught by the Word of God." The most important of these principles are, the second coming of Christ; the union of two factors in the New Testament idea of salvation, namely, divine grace and faith, or redemption and its personal appropriation; and the universal manifestation of Christ. Dr. Gerhart justly emphasizes the biblical method of turning men's thoughts to the final Advent, and calls attention to the fact that "Theology and the pulpit have in our times allowed the reality and momentous significance of the parousia to recede in great measure from the Christian consciousness of the Church, and as an unavoidable consequence have raised the crisis of natural death to a position of prominence which it does not hold in the teaching of the New Testament or the economy of redemption." "Infants dying in infancy," he maintains, "do not continue to be unconscious infants in the transearthly period of human existence. Such a notion has possession of the minds of many Christian parents. Bereft of a sweet, innocent babe, they are inclined to remember it as a babe, and from year to year imagine it to be an unconscious child in the invisible world. But there is no warrant for such a notion either in Scripture or in anthropology. . . . Infants dying in infancy develop into self-consciousness and freedom, and thus become moral agents. Moral agency conditions their character in relation to God no less after than before death." "The necessity of saving faith is an universal necessity. Objectively, Christ is the central fact of human redemption. Subjectively, faith is the pivot on which the Scriptural doctrine of personal salvation turns." Dr. Gerhart rejects every magical conception of baptism. He thinks that its blessings follow infants, who die, into the transearthly period, as though they had continued to live in this world. The universal manifestation of Christ he argues from (1.) the clear teaching of the New Testament that Christ went among the dead to preach the gospel; (2.) that He is Head over "all things," sustaining a universal relation to mankind; (3.) the absence from the New Testament of any passage "which limits the proclamation of the gospel exclusively to men living in the earthly period of their history;" (4.) the revealed fact that "Jesus the Son of Man, the only Mediator, will be the judge of all men;" (5.) the command to proclaim the gospel to all men, together with the assurance of a final manifestation. On the supposition that there will be no revelation during the intermediate ages, they would not be in accord with the method thus disclosed.

Dr. Gerhart, with Dr. Prentiss and Mr. Edgar, rejects the conception that this life is properly described as a probation. This concurrence of opinion is noticeable. What in this country and England for many years has been assumed as beyond dispute, is now not only questioned, but rejected by some of our most eminent and orthodox divines. To a certain extent their opposition is rather to the word probation than to the thing. But so far as it is a mere entail from deism, and a deistic natural theology, Dr. Gerhart discards it even more decisively than Professor Prentiss. "Scripturally speaking," he remarks, "sinful men are not on trial here, nor will they be hereafter. . . . It is an unsolved problem in the case of every man, when Christ challenges his confidence and love, whether he will yield a positive response to the challenge. But this problem does not involve probation in the sense of Bishop Butler, nor in the sense in which the term is commonly used. . . . There is, then, no

probation, here nor hereafter, either for infants or adults. All unregenerate men die under the abnormal action of sin; and all need the saving virtue of Christ's redemption. Without it they are hopeless. But through the preaching of the gospel there will be a manifestation of the Mediator to all, both to infants dying in infancy and to the heathen. This manifestation of the Mediator is real and mighty here; it will also be real and mighty hereafter. So far forth there is hope for all who have not, by the renunciation of the supreme good, made final and irreversible choice of moral evil."

This rapid analysis does but scant justice to a masterly paper. It is not a mere criticism of Dr. Prentiss's essay, but a positive and scientific development of important principles.

We venture to offer a few additional comments upon this discussion.

1. Dr. Prentiss shows conclusively that there has been a great change in Protestant belief, particularly in the Reformed or Calvinistic churches, respecting the salvation of infants. Only ignorance, or something much less excusable, will question this historical fact.¹

¹ This change of belief is not generally understood. Even so well informed a theologian as the late Dr. Hodge does not seem to have been aware of it until Dr. Krauth published his essay on "Infant Baptism and Infant Salvation in the Calvinistic System." Dr. Prentiss points out that the tenet that unbaptized infants are lost is recognized in the Augsburg Confession, the first Protestant Symbol, and still a standard of the Lutheran Church. The Westminster Confession affirms the salvation of "elect infants." "If . . . a single one of the Westminster divines believed that all who die in infancy are elect, and consequently saved, he never, so far as is known, avowed such belief." It seems to be supposed, however, that it is a calumny to affirm that there was any prevalent belief among Calvinists in the actual condemnation of any infants. The direct implications or assertions of such belief on the part of eminent theologians are passed by in silence. It cannot, at any rate, it is supposed, have been a part of current theology and popular Orthodoxy. How far this is from being correct may be made clear by an extract from what was once a widely circulated treatise of practical piety in this country and in England. The author is Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, A. M., "Teacher of the Church at Malden, in New England." He died in the seventy-fourth year of his age, had been a Fellow and Tutor in Harvard College, and was called from Cambridge to Malden, where, as Cotton Mather says, he "was their faithful pastor for about a jubilee of years together." His *Day of Doom*, from which we quote, "has been often reprinted," says Mather, "in both Englands, and may, perhaps, find our children till the *Day* itself arrivè." The copy before us is marked "The Sixth Edition, enlarged, with Scripture and Marginal Notes." Boston: 1715.

"Then to the Bar, all they drew near
who dy'd in infancy,
And never had or good or bad
effected pers'nally,
But from the womb unto the tomb
were straightway carried,
(Or at the last e're they transgress'd)
who thus began to plead:

"If for our own transgression,
or disobedience,
We here did stand at thy left hand,
just were the Recompense:
But *Adam's* guilt our souls hath spilt,
his fault is charged on us;
And that alone hath overthrown,
and utterly undone us.

"Not we, but he ate of the Tree,
whose fruit was interdicted:
Yet on us all of his sad Fall,
the punishment's inflicted.
How could we sin that had not been
or how is his sin our
Without consent, which to prevent,
we never had a pow'r?

"O great Creator, why was our Nature
depraved and forlorn?
Why so defil'd, and made so vile
whilst we were yet unborn?
If it be just, and needs we must
transgressors reck'ned be,
Thy Mercy, Lord, to us afford,
which sinners hath set free.

2. Neither the traditional nor current beliefs of a particular branch of the Christian Church can claim, unsupported, to represent the faith of

"Behold we see *Adam* set free,
and sav'd from his trespass,
Whose sinful Fall hath split us all,
And brought us to this pass.
Canst thou deny us once to try,
or Grace to us to tender,
When he finds grace before thy face,
that was the chief offender?"

"Then answered the judge most dread,
God doth such doom forbid,
That men should dye eternally
for what they never did.
But what you call old *Adam's* Fall,
and only his Trespass,
You call amiss to call it his,
both his and yours it was.

"He was designed of all Mankind
to be a publick Head,
A common Root, whence all should shoot,
and stood in all their stead.
He stood and fell, did ill or well,
not for himself alone,
But for you all, who now his Fall,
and trespass would disown.

"If he had stood, then all his brood
had been established
In God's true love never to move,
nor once awry to tread:
Then all his race, my Father's Grace,
should have enjoy'd for ever,
And wicked Sprights by subtle sleights
could them have harmed never.

"Would you have griev'd to have receiv'd
through *Adam* so much good,
As had been your for evermore
if he at first had stood?
Would you have said, we n'er obey'd,
nor did thy Laws regard;
It ill befits with benefits,
us, Lord, so to reward.

"Since then to share in his welfare
you could have been content,
You may with reason share in his treason
and in the punishment.
Hence you were born in state forlorn,
with Natures so depraved;
Death was your due, because that you
had so your selves behaved.

"You think if we had been as he
whom God did so betray,
We to our cost would ne're have lost
all for a paltry Lust.
Had you been made in *Adam's* stead
you would like things have wrought,
And so into the self same wo,
your selves and yours have brought.

"Am I alone of what's my own
no master or no Lord?
O if I am, how can you claim
what I to some afford?
Will you demand Grace at my hand,
and challenge what is mine?
Will you teach me whom to set free,
and thus my Grace confine?"

You sinners are, and such a share
as sinners may expect,
Such you shall have; for I do save
none but my own Elect.
Yet to compare your sin with their
who liv'd a longer time
I do confess yours is much less,
though every sin's a crime.

"A Crime it is, therefore in bliss
you may not hope to dwell;
But unto you I shall allow
the easiest room in Hell.
The glorious King thus answering
they cease and plead no longer:
Their Consciences must needs confess
his Reasons are the stronger."

The poet then proceeds to describe, in language we will not transfer, the pronouncing of sentence by the Judge, and its fearful execution upon "great and small," — a sentence whose "lightest pain" is "more than intolerable," and least infliction sufficient to consume the soul, "if God did not prevent." "In contemporaneous renown," says Professor Tyler (*History of Amer. Lit.* ii. 23), far above all other verse-writers of the colonial time, was Michael Wigglesworth, . . . a poet who so perfectly uttered in verse the religious faith and emotion of Puritan New England, that, for more than a hundred years, his writings had universal diffusion there, and a popular influence only inferior to that of the Bible and the Shorter Catechism." Of *The Day of Doom* Professor Tyler remarks: "This great poem . . . had for a hundred years a popularity far exceeding that of any other work, in prose or verse, produced in America before the Revolution. The eighteen hundred copies of the first edition were sold within a single year, which implies the purchase of a copy of *The Day of Doom* by at least every thirty-fifth person then in New England, — an example of the commercial success of a book never afterwards equalled in this country. Since that time the book has been repeatedly published; at least once in England and at least eight times in America, the last time being in 1867" (ib. p. 34). Allibone refers to two editions in England, — one published in London, the other at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

the Christian Church, or Orthodoxy. The dogma of infant damnation is no part of catholic Christianity, or the historic faith of the Church. Irenæus, who represents beyond any other man the beliefs of the Church in the century following the Apostolic Age, affirms the salvation of infants as though it were undisputed. Even when the prevalent belief was darkest, there were many who took a more Christian view.

3. The prominence given by Drs. Prentiss and Gerhart to the question about infants is justified by history, as well as by the direct reasons they advance. It is convenient for men, whose easy-going and superficial opinions are disturbed, to resort to agnosticism, or the cry of "speculation" or *cui bono*? but there never has been a period of progress in anthropology or soteriology, when the bearing of positions taken upon infants and young children did not have to be considered. Children exist, and have their divine rights and compassions, and something is known about them and their relation to Adam and to Christ.

4. We agree fully with Dr. Gerhart in his view of the importance of recovering to preaching and theology the biblical doctrines of the second coming of Christ and of his universal manifestation.

5. We are unable to agree with these honored brethren and eminent Christian teachers in their rejection or disparagement of the doctrine of Probation.

It is not surprising that the very word probation now finds disfavor with intelligent and devout students of the Scriptures. Like the phrase "moral government," it has been used to designate a relation of the soul to God so one-sidedly apprehended, so forced out of its true connections, so over-wrought and strained, as to become unreal and practically false. Theology has been verily guilty in this matter, and needs to humble itself and bring forth fruits meet for repentance. Dr. Gerhart's and Dr. Prentiss's articles supplement each other and administer a timely rebuke to the self-sufficiency and provincialism and ignorance of much current theology.

But it does not follow, because an idea has been taken up in a pagan or Pelagian form, that it has no truth in it. We concede that the ordinary conception of probation has been derived from natural theology; that it came in with an Arminianism which was not evangelical and with the apologetics of Bishop Butler, that it has been made to do too much work, that it has been twisted out of its place in biblical and evangelical dogmatics. But it does not follow that it is to be discarded or minimized. It may need simply to be stated in terms of the gospel, — to be Christianized. It is not wise, in our humble judgment, for Christian theology to turn its back on Bishop Butler. It is not necessary to repudiate a doctrine which has given seriousness to preaching and life, which has its roots in the moral order of the universe as we come in present contact with it, and which has a just and salutary power over the human reason and conscience.

Dr. Prentiss traces the conception to the discussions of the age of Deism. It is much older in Christian theology. Irenæus, or his Latin translator, uses the very word, and in a blind and groping way feels after the very thing, a probation on gospel and not merely legal, or even paradisiacal terms. And the deistic, unchurchly, and unevangelical thought of the eighteenth century embodied a truth which, in our opinion, it has been the merit of the New England theology to conserve, how-

ever ill adjusted it has remained, namely, that of free personality. Dr. Prentiss, in his disparagement of probation, will find himself logically driven back to the old Calvinism of the Presbyterian standards, and of the Rev. Mr. Edgar, from which our Edwardean and New School fathers revolted.

Dr. Gerhart claims that "moral probation implies that the subject is constitutionally in a normal state and ethically good, possessing adequate ability to sustain a right relationship to God in the face of all solicitations to the contrary." We do not question that the New School theology, in its use of the term, has sometimes given occasion for the belief that it so conceives of probation. But neither unimpaired power nor uncertainty of issue is necessarily involved in probation. We have before us, as we write, a copy of an unpublished manuscript of the elder Edwards, in which he discusses this question: "Since Christ has been in a state of probation, and has passed through a time of trial in behalf of the elect, why is it requisite that they should be in a state of probation after Him?" And again he writes of "the offer of a Saviour or a probation," making the two phrases equivalent. Jonathan Edwards was not lax in his views of original sin or man's need of divine grace, nor wavering in his doctrine of certainty. The word probation may be abused, but we are not satisfied to substitute for it the word opportunity. There is something more in the manner in which the gospel meets men than mere opportunity. They are dealt with as free, responsible, accountable agents, and they will be judged at the last day, not simply for having violated the moral law, but for having rejected the Redeemer. The word probation suggests, also, more plainly than does the proposed substitute, that opportunities may cease. In the constructive work now needed in eschatology we believe that the conception of probation will continue to fill an important and prominent place. Only it will be Christianized, its conditions being determined and the sphere of its operation widened in accordance with the greatness of Christ's atoning and redemptive work, and the revealed doctrine of his final coming to judge all men.

Egbert C. Smyth.

M. PRESSENSÉ ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

What are we to think of the attitude of the present Republican government of France towards the Roman Catholic Church, and does it signify opposition to intolerance and superstition, or intolerant opposition to religion? In the January number of the "*Revue Chrétienne*," that stanch republican and eminent Protestant, Edmond de Pressensé, has given his opinion most distinctly and energetically.

"The manner in which this great reform" — the separation of church and state — "is approached is such that it is not possible for the most pronounced partisans of separation to applaud it. In fact, it is not the spirit of liberty and justice which presides over it, but the spirit of passion, and, above all, the outspoken hatred of all religion. Moreover, the method chosen to realize it is deplorable in every point of view. . . .

"We affirm . . . that the separation of church and state is not aimed at by the majority of the Chamber as a grand liberal reform, intended to

insure peace in the country, and better to guarantee the rights of conscience. . . . If we take note of the considerations advanced at the tribune in favor of the diminution of the budget of Worship, — something always presented as the preface to its suppression, — we observe that, in lieu of being derived from those principles of political justice which ought alone to inspire the opinions of the representatives of the nation, they have had no other inspiration than antipathy to religion. And take good note that the discussion did not turn solely upon the Catholic Church, with her principles of intolerance and her long history of opposition to the liberties of the country. Even that would be going too far, for it is not the business of a parliament to take action of a doctrinal tendency. It ought to suppress abuses and strike at culpable or unconstitutional acts, but it exceeds its authority, when, because it detests the principles of a church, it attacks the church as such. But the Chamber of Deputies has gone much farther; it is religion in itself which its principal orators have had in view. In effect, what has been their chief argument against the budget of Worship? It is that all that was granted it was retrenched from the ministry of Public Instruction; that to favor worship was to favor superstition to the detriment of free science represented by the Department of Public Instruction. Let this be judged of by the following fragment of the discourse of M. Jules Roche, who, with harsh and biting talent, has played the principal part in this discussion: —

“‘There is,’ says the orator, ‘a budget which is intimately allied with the budget of Worship; it is the budget of Public Instruction, and it is not without profound philosophical reasons, belonging to the very nature of things, that the budget of Public Instruction has been so long associated and originally subordinated to the ministry of Worship.’

“‘These two budgets, in fact, according to the conception which one forms to himself of the laws which preside over the moral and intellectual development of communities, have one and the same end. The expenses for religion and the expenses for science, these are, speaking precisely, according to the two opposing systems, expenses which have for their object the moral and intellectual culture of the nation. During long ages, it was, in fact, of the various religions that humanity demanded its education and the laws of its morality; but the modern world reposes upon a different philosophical conception; the French Revolution has created a new right — the right of man, . . . it has proclaimed the independence of conscience, the sovereignty of reason enlightened by science, and all the progress made in this country during the past eighty years . . . is due to science. You see, then, plainly, that the two budgets, the two departments of the public service, cannot exist. The one is bound to decrease in proportion as the other increases, since everything which science gains she conquers from the supernatural. Whenever you wish to facilitate the progress of public instruction and of science, you ought, then, to demand the necessary means for this of the budget destined to the institution essentially hostile to this progress of science.’

“‘An interruption from one of the most distinguished members of the Assembly, M. Paul Bert, formerly Minister of Public Instruction and of Worship under Gambetta, and now leader of the most influential section of the Chamber, one of the speakers most listened to, has struck the keynote of this discourse: ‘The two budgets of Public Instruction and Worship,’ said he ironically, ‘may coexist, like the light and the shade.’

It has, then, been well understood that the reductions made in the budget of Worship were so many victories over the spirit of darkness and of obscurantism personified by religion!

"It is not possible to inaugurate more distinctly what is called in Germany the *Kulturkampf*, the combat of *intellectual culture* with the power of ignorance and of enslavement, which is unhesitatingly identified with religion itself. A strange way, forsooth, of bringing about the separation of church and state. We have always hitherto supposed that what constituted the grandeur of this reform was the establishment of a definitive separation between the domain of conscience, of faith, of philosophical or religious thought, and that of the civil power, in order that the latter might no longer be anything more than the representative of general law, of justice in its widest sense.

"The separation of church and state is, in our view, as well as in that of all real liberals, the enfranchisement of the church, and, simultaneously with it, the secularization of the state, the proclamation of its doctrinal neutrality. This is the most elevated aspect, — what Lamartine used to call the consummation of the French Revolution. And here we have public men who give themselves out as the true heirs of this revolution while denying its fundamental principle, and essaying to turn against religion the resources and the authority of the state in the name of a philosophical doctrine which they would establish as paramount. They thus deprive it of its neutrality, they belie its laic character, of which they make so much in their speeches, and do not perceive that they are reverting to the most distressing errors of the past. This is done, say they, to humble clericalism, ultramontanism. But it so happens that they carefully save out the most characteristic principle of this, which is, imposing on the state the defense of a doctrine. It matters little that this doctrine is what they call Free Thought. This does not make it less a doctrine of state. A curious sort of free thought, which would suppress the liberty of every one who does not accept it. Our Free Thinkers of the Chamber of Deputies thus render themselves the plagiarists of a past which they detest, but which they rehabilitate while detesting it. Here is a monstrous inconsistency, against which we cannot protest too intensely. . . .

"At the very moment when the budget of Worship was discussed in the spirit which I have just characterized, a bill was introduced by the government, which recognizes the rights of all associations except religious ones. These are, in reality, outlawed. This intention of impoverishing and enslaving the church before abandoning her to herself has been avowed from the tribune and in the press in the frankest, we might say in the most impudent, manner. . . . The plan of the intended campaign against the various forms of worship has been distinctly revealed. We hold it detestable; all the friends of liberty, though they stood in the front rank of advocates of the separation of church and state, ought to combat it with all their energy.

"It is evident that for us the Republic is at this moment passing through a very serious, if not formidable, phase of development. The strife is becoming more and more strenuous between the liberal republicans and the arbitrary republicans, imbued with the Jacobin spirit. On the issue of this strife depends its destiny. It is a combat which ought to be manfully maintained, and, in order to guide it to a good issue,

we ought to keep solely in view the essential question while frankly accepting the only form of government compatible with our democracy. Everything surrendered to monarchical prepossessions is a waste of force."

C. C. Starbuck.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

ASSYRIOLOGY: A NEW QUARTERLY.

THE young science of Assyriology has made a step in advance in the establishment of a journal, called "*Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete*," under the editorial control of Dr. Carl Bezold and Dr. Fritz Hommel, *privatdozenten* in the University of Munich. The journal is to appear quarterly, from the publishing house of Otto Schulze, in Leipzig. The first number, eighty-eight pages, makes a good impression, both in appearance and in the quality of its articles. Professor Schrader, of Berlin, contributes a discussion in German on the pronunciation of the sibilants in Assyrian, and Professor Guyard, of Paris, has a French article on the same subject. Both articles are called forth by a paper published by Dr. Haupt in April last, and are polemics against some new views presented in this paper as to the pronunciation of the signs containing the sounds *s* and *sh* in Assyrian. Haupt had proposed to read *s* where most Assyrian scholars read *sh*, and vice versa.

Professor Sayce, of Oxford, contributes an excellent article in English on the origin of the Persian cuneiform alphabet. After showing that the signs representing vowels in Persian are Babylonian characters slightly modified, he goes through the list of consonants, tracing these, also, in twenty-five cases to Babylonian originals. Thus, the Babylonian sign *gu* gives the Persian letter *g*, *pu* gives *p*, *ba* gives *b*, *na* gives *n*, *ma* gives *m*, etc. Seven characters of the Persian alphabet Sayce cannot explain, and four others he considers doubtful. Even some of his identifications may be wrong, but the method seems very probably right. Dr. Oppert, of Paris, had already derived the Persian cuneiform alphabet from the Babylonian ideographic characters, but in a less direct and plausible way than Professor Sayce has done. The time of the invention of the Persian letters Sayce places between 518 and 513 B. C.

Dr. Hommel writes on early Babylonian chronology. The recent discovery by Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, of the date 3750 B. C. as the date of king *Naram-sin* makes very probable a Semitic supremacy in the Tigris-Euphrates valley more than a thousand years older than we were warranted in supposing before this fortunate discovery. But preceding the Semitic there seems to have been a great non-Semitic civilization, which Hommel assigns to a date at least as old as the close of the fifth millennium B. C., a civilization whose wonderful pantheon was adopted by the Semites, and many of whose remarkable psalms and hymns have been preserved with parallel or interlinear Assyrian translations.

Dr. Oppert presents a paper on a contract tablet, recording a sale of land made in the fourth year of Nabonidus, the last of the Babylonian kings. Of this interesting document there are two copies, one at London and one at Paris. It is very greatly to be desired that such articles

should give not only the transliterated text, but also the original. At the close Oppert reasserts the correctness of his view as to the method by which the Persian cuneiform alphabet was derived from the Babylonian cuneiform characters. This method was as follows: Certain ideograms, together with their signification, were adopted by the Persians, the Persian name for the object represented by the sign being, however, retained. These signs were then simplified and used as syllables, each sign having as syllabic value the first syllable of the Persian word which it represented. Thus the Babylonian sign for house was adopted, and as the Persian word for house is *tacara*, this sign received as a syllable the value *ta*. This opinion of Oppert, certainly very ingenious, and finding support in the similarity of the signs in Babylonian and Persian, is declared by Sayce to be too ingenious, who proposes, as we have already seen, to derive the Persian characters directly from the syllabic Babylonian characters.

J. Halévy, of Paris, has two short notes on Assyrian lexicography. The first and most interesting concerns the translation of some lines in the cuneiform narrative of the Deluge. The connection is the passage immediately before the account of the beginning of the storm. The Sun-god, *Samas*, sends forth a decree ordering Hasis-adra (Noah) to enter the ship, and when Hasis-adra hesitates to obey, the command is repeated with more power than before. Then follow two lines which have been understood by nearly all Assyrian scholars as saying that Hasis-adra awaited with suspense the coming evening and feared to embark. Halévy, however, translates:—

During four days I beheld his face (i. e. I entreated the Sun-god);
The day (following) I was afraid to look (to him) (i. e. to pray any longer)
I entered the ship and closed the door.

This is the best translation yet offered of this difficult passage. Whether the sign which Halévy reads "four," consisting of four perpendicular wedges, is really the numeral IV., or, as has generally been supposed, the genitive sign *sha*, cannot be certainly decided. If a parallel text should be found, presenting in the place of the sign in question the other sign, *sha*, which is never used as a numeral, this would be fatal to Halévy's reading. Supposing his rendering correct, we have, as he shows, a new point of comparison between the cuneiform and the biblical accounts of the Deluge. Genesis (vii. 4, 10) allows seven days between the time of the command to enter the ark and the beginning of the Deluge. If we suppose that the two commands of the Sun-god in the Assyrian version were made on successive days, that the four days of intercession followed, and that on the next day Hasis-adra entered the ship, we shall have, as in the biblical narrative, an interval of seven days between the first command and the entrance. That Halévy has here made a real discovery is very probable. As in the Jehovistic biblical account so in the cuneiform version, seven is the favorite number. The rain continues seven days, the ship rests on the mountain seven days, and after the Deluge Hasis-adra arranges seven and seven vessels of sacrifice. It is, therefore, in itself very probable that seven days should intervene between the command to enter the ship and the beginning of the Deluge.

Another interesting point, which seems to have escaped notice, occurs in connection with this expression "seven and seven" vessels of sacrifice. This is on all sides supposed to mean "by sevens." It seems, however,

more probable that the writer means fourteen vessels. Then why did he not adopt the usual way of writing this number by using the signs for ten and four? Because by the arrangement of the vessels in two groups of seven he symbolized the two periods of seven days each during which the waters were rising and falling. In addition to this, each vessel represented, of course, one of the fourteen days of the Deluge.

In the "Sprechsaal" Dr. Hommel explains the object of the journal, and indicates some of the subjects which will be discussed in the near future. He specifies the questions as to the pronunciation of the sibilants, and as to a distinction between *i* and *e* in Assyrian. This will specially interest students of language. A larger number will be interested in the problem whether Sumero-Akkadian was a language, or, as Halévy and Guyard maintain, only a hieratic method of writing Assyrian. The discussions of grammar and lexicography will appeal to all Semitic students, and the journal hopes, also, by discussions of the great mass of historical and religious material, to win friends among all students of religion and of archæology.

Two or three other short articles, book notices, and bibliography are added. At the close is a leaf in mourning, in memory of François Lenormant, who died December 9, 1883, nearly forty-seven years of age. In the death of M. Lenormant the science of Assyriology has sustained its greatest loss since that sad day in August, 1876, when, at Aleppo, the young and brilliant George Smith died, a victim to his enthusiasm.

D. G. Lyon.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME: THE ATRIUM OF VESTA.

The accounts of recent excavations and archæological discoveries at Tivoli, Antemnæ, Roma Vecchia, and even those at Rome, incident as they are for the most part to opening new streets or building new structures, are very numerous and somewhat dreary, except to the archæologist, with their repeated pavements, brickwork, broken *amphoræ*, fragments of marble, and illegible or inconsequential inscriptions. The discoveries in November last, and subsequently down to the latest date from Rome, conducted under the direction of Signor Baccelli, the Minister of Public Instruction, with a strictly scientific purpose and in pursuance of the large plans which have been so systematically and vigorously carried out by the Roman government for several years past, are of a kind to interest all students of history and art, and even the wider public.

In the spring of 1883 the work in the forum proper was completed by removing the high causeway passing in front of the Arch of Septimius Severus, and building an inconspicuous thoroughfare on a low level between the arch and the temple of Concord. The road embankment across the forum, at the temple of Castor and Pollux, which had been left during the excavations on either side of it, had been replaced by a bridge in 1882, and thus, at last, an unobstructed view of the forum in its whole length and at the ancient level had been opened from the Capitol to the Arch of Titus. Further explorations to the north and east were planned, but they were blocked by the rights, and in some cases by the avarice, of private owners and ecclesiastical corporations, who hold above some of the most interesting sites of ancient Rome. Time and liberal appropriations will remove these obstacles.

Careful excavations by Signor Rosa in all the accessible grounds of the Palatine Hill, beginning in 1861, had made the public familiar with the wonderful ruins of the palaces of Imperial Rome which he uncovered there. Between these two areas of excavation lay vast accumulations, in some cases 80 feet deep, heaped up against the slopes of the northern angle of the Palatine, from the church of S. Maria Liberatrice to the Arch of Titus, bounded on the northeast by the raised road, not then removed, leading to the arch. This quadrilateral, roughly 700 feet by 150, has been the theatre of the recent researches. Private letters, as well as the public telegrams and communications, attest the enthusiasm with which the new discoveries have been received.

The excavations began near the church of Santa Maria, and moved southward. Presently a street was discovered about midway between and parallel to the *Clivus Victorie* (Rosa) and the *Sacra Via*. This was recognized as the *Nova Via*, the identification being confirmed by the fragment of the marble map of Rome which was found near the temple of Vesta in 1882. November 5, 1883, the workmen found three marble pedestals, bearing inscriptions in honor of the Vestal Virgins, and the discovery of the *Atrium Vestæ* was announced. The three inscriptions, forty lines in all, were in honor of three Vestals, each the head of the college: the first being inscribed by the Pontiffs, the second by a devoted client, the third by a dutiful niece and grand-nephew. Two are dated, and a date is easily supplied for the third by another published inscription (Orell. 2234). The dates are, respectively, 254 A. D., 286, and 364. The inscriptions, interesting in themselves, had some intentional erasures and other noteworthy peculiarities. This discovery stimulated further efforts, and in the two months following 36,000 cubic metres of débris were removed, 13 marble pedestals were discovered, in all 25 inscriptions, 102 brick stamps, 15 busts and heads, 11 statues and seven important parts of statues, 835 coins (mediæval), one gold coin (Byzantine), with precious marbles and two pieces of jewelry. The topographical interest centres in the disclosure of a marvelous atrium, some 250 feet long and 75 feet wide, a paved court surrounded by a marble portico, adorned with statues and votive tablets, so like a modern cloister as to lead easily to the belief, supported by many other independent and conclusive proofs, that this was the court of the official residence of that most ancient, wealthy, and honored sisterhood, whose influence was so great from the time of its institution by Numa down to the establishment of Christianity, and which served as the model of the sacred sisterhoods of the Christian church. About the *Atrium* is a series of many small but elegant apartments, some still retaining the decorations and fixtures which show the uses for which they were intended. Bath-rooms in the second story, lined with marble, and supplied with pipes for heating purposes, arched ceilings, wall-paintings, and rich mosaic floors, are evidences of the elegance of this spacious home of the small but wealthy order. It seems to have been connected at one corner with the temple of Vesta, and near by was the *Regia*, the house of the Pontifex Maximus. The date of the structure is subsequent to the great fire in the reign of Commodus, in 191 A. D. It is surprising that so much remains after seventeen centuries of neglect and decay, — after ignorance, avarice, and malice have had their full opportunity to plunder and destroy. Beneath the black marble *tesserae* of the pavement now exposed

is to be seen the unbroken mosaic of an earlier structure, perhaps that of the era of the republic.

The excavations as they go on will doubtless add much to our maps of ancient Rome. They bid fair to settle the questions, so far as they are still unsettled, of the *Sacra Via*, the rotunda of Romulus, and the outline of the Palatine. The richness of present discoveries heightens expectation.

C. F. P. Bancroft.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND. Two Courses of Lectures. By J. R. SEELEY, M. A. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1883.

The relative proportions in area, population, and other particulars, which the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland bears to the British Empire, as a whole, will appear from the following figures for the year 1881, the last census year: Area in square miles, the United Kingdom, 120,892; the British Empire (including the United Kingdom), 8,025,007. Population, the United Kingdom, 34,929,679; the British Empire, 252,558,375. Revenues, the United Kingdom, £84,041,288; the British Empire, £193,972,085. Expenditures, the United Kingdom, £83,107,924; the British Empire, £197,105,424. Total imports and exports, the United Kingdom, £694,105,264; the British Empire, £1,094,423,613.

It is of the British Empire regarded as a whole — of Greater Britain — that Professor Seeley treats in two courses of lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge, now published under the title of "The Expansion of England." He does not attempt to trace the history of kings or parliaments, nor does he discourse upon any progress of the race peculiar to England. By England he means the state or political community which has its seat in England, and the most important development of the English state, in his view, has been and is the extension of the English name into other countries of the globe, — the foundation of the Greater Britain. The internal union of the three kingdoms was brought to completion substantially under Queen Anne; "the creation of a still larger Britain, comprehending vast possessions beyond the sea," began with the first charter granted to Virginia in 1606, but did not stand out in distinct prominence before the world, "in its gigantic dimensions and with its vast politics," until the eighteenth century. The history of England in the eighteenth century, says the author, was not in England, but in America and Asia; and the succession of wars between England and France, which, with intervals of peace or of nominal peace, were waged from 1688 to 1815, were, in fact, one long duel for the possession of North America and for the sovereignty of India.

"There was once a Greater Spain, a Greater Portugal, a Greater France, and a Greater Holland, as well as a Greater Britain, but from various causes those four empires have either perished or have become insignificant. . . . Greater Britain itself, after suffering one severe shock, has survived to the present day." What is to be the future of

this Greater Britain? Will it fall to pieces, as the other empires referred to have done? Will its colonies demand and obtain, each in turn, national independence for themselves, as did the American colonies in the eighteenth century? These are the questions the vast importance of which Professor Seeley urges upon the consideration of the young men of Cambridge, — the future public and professional men of England, — and which he endeavors to answer.

In relation to the Indian Empire, Professor Seeley admits that it is precarious and artificial, and that it greatly increases British dangers and responsibilities, while it is a question whether it does or can increase British power or security. He urges, however, that, in view of the commercial interests involved, so far as England is concerned, and still more for the sake of India itself, the empire should not be abandoned. "To withdraw our government from a country which is dependent on it, and which we have made incapable of depending upon anything else, would be the most inexcusable of all conceivable crimes, and might possibly cause the most stupendous of all conceivable calamities."

But what is to be the destiny of the Dominion of Canada, of the West India possessions, of the group of colonies in South Africa, and of Australia? Turgot said, a quarter of a century before the Declaration of Independence, that colonies were like fruits, which cling to the tree only till they ripen; and he added that when America could take care of herself she would do what Carthage had done. "What wonder that when this prediction was so signally fulfilled the proposition from which it had been deduced rose, especially in the minds of the English, to the rank of a demonstrated principle? This, no doubt, is the reason why we have regarded the growth of a second empire with very little interest or satisfaction." But why were the American colonies lost to England in the last century? Professor Seeley lays the blame, and justly, upon the colonial system, so called, which, in a word, was based on the idea that colonies exist mainly for the use and benefit of the mother country. Bacon, in his essay on Plantations, had taken a more enlightened view; but the statesmen and merchants who came after him believed, as one of the latter, Sir Josiah Child, expressed it in 1669, that "colonies and foreign plantations do but endamage their mother kingdoms, when the trades of such plantations are not confined to their said mother kingdoms by good laws and the severe execution of those laws." The American Revolution has been truly described as a liberation from commercial rather than political thralldom; but the British colonies to-day chafe under neither political nor commercial thralldom. They may and do enact tariff laws which operate against the mother kingdom precisely as though she were a foreign country; and under what is known as responsible government they enjoy a degree of political freedom just short of absolute independence. And yet, the colonists are not entirely satisfied. The relation which they sustain to the empire, politically, is not that to which they can look forward as a permanency with complacency. They do not stand in London as they wish to stand, and they do not receive there the recognition in all respects to which they think they are entitled. The tone of the English press toward them is apt to be unappreciative, patronizing, irritating, almost insolent. We have heard some of them speak of themselves as "the pariahs of the empire." What is the remedy for this state of things? How may the loyalty of these men to the Crown be perpetu-

ated? Professor Seeley says: "We must cease to think that the history of England is the history of the Parliament that sits at Westminster, and that affairs which are not discussed there cannot belong to English history. When we have accustomed ourselves to contemplate the whole empire together, and call it all England, we shall see that here, too, is a United States. Here, too, is a great homogeneous people, one in blood, language, religion, and laws, but dispersed over a boundless space." The author does not touch upon the question of local government, although, of course, it is in his mind, nor does he attempt to show how the affairs of the empire should be administered in the future. Many think that a legislative body should sit in London for the transaction of imperial business, in which every part of the empire should be represented.

These lectures are admirable in thought and expression, avoiding equally, to quote their own language, the bombastic and the pessimistic. They do not contain the faintest hint of jingoism, but they are conceived in a large and liberal spirit. Novalis said, Every Englishman is an island: certainly the views which Professor Seeley here urges upon our attention are not insular; on the contrary, they may be said to be as comprehensive as the globe.

Hamilton A. Hill.

A ROUNDABOUT JOURNEY. By CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. Pp. 360. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1884.

SEVEN SPANISH CITIES AND THE WAY TO THEM. By EDWARD E. HALE. Pp. 324. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1883.

IN THE SHADOW OF THE PYRENEES, FROM BASQUE-LAND TO CARCASSONNE. By MARTIN R. VINCENT, D. D. With Etchings and Maps. Pp. 276. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Spain, once in arts and arms the foremost nation in Europe, is now the most backward. This fact is both the delight and the distress of those who visit her. The fragments of her splendid past are her chief attraction, and if she had only taken better care of these we could easily forgive her neglect of modern improvements. The Spaniards claim to be in the very front rank of civilization. There is a semblance of this in the large cities. We naturally expect Spain to be civilized, but, in point of fact, one finds out that she is oriental, and even partially barbarous. There is a proportionate disappointment and irritation. The Spanish character does not readily lend itself to instruction from outsiders. But there is gain. Within a few years a crowd of charming writers have been acting the double part of ushers and admirers to Spain. Meantime, railroads, telegraphs, barely decent hotels, and all the vastly convenient but rather unheroic and vulgarizing instrumentalities of modern times have given access to almost all the corners and treasures of her decayed mediævalism.

Only six of the twenty-two chapters of Mr. Warner's "Roundabout Journey" are devoted to Spain, but these six are so good that one wishes there were more. His book, a bundle of papers originally published in various periodicals, begins at Paris, and carries the reader along a route of quaint description and witty observation to Avignon, Nîmes, Montpellier, and the adjacent coast of France; then skips over to Italy by

way of Munich and Innsbruck; gives us a glimpse of Orvieto and its cathedral; crosses to Sicily; rummages through the doleful gallery of the dead at Palermo, and among the classic remains of Taormina and Syracuse; lands at Malta to tell us how the women coquet with the *faldetta*; sails to Gibraltar, thence by the most wretched short sea passage in the world to Tangier, and so to Spain at Cadiz.

There the author meets the usual exasperating difficulties with which the Spanish officials make miserable the life of the traveler, especially at a seaport, and which are obviously almost too much for even Mr. Warner's good humor. Chapters on the Alhambra, the Bull-Fight, Monserrat, and "Random Notes," follow, and the book ends with a description of Wagner's "Parsifal" at Baireuth. No one who has read Mr. Warner's other sketches need be told with what finish, keenness of insight into men and things, droll conceits, and delicious surprises of fun this attractive bill is filled up. He is at his best in picturing what makes up so much of a tourist's life, — the accommodations and *dis-accommodations* of hotel, railway, and diligence, and all the endless by-play of the journey. His perfectly original humor, his cool, shrewd, Yankee way of looking at things, never fails him. He speaks of *table d'hôte* as "that great European ritual," of "the sustenance contained in the garlic-laden air of the interior" of a diligence; notes the similarity between the growth of the cactus and the German language; and in passing a prison observes that "we do not select our people for the jails with much discrimination." We wish he had not thought it necessary, in order to discharge a "traveler's duty," to exert his best powers in spreading before us all the dreary and disgusting details of the bull-fight, till he was "glad to escape from the demoniac performance" and seek "refuge in an old church near by, to bathe his tired eyes and bruised nerves in its coolness and serenity."

On the whole, Mr. Warner gives a fair judgment respecting the advantages and disadvantages of Spanish travel. We cannot fully agree with him when he says that "the real Spain is the least attractive country in Europe to the tourist. The traveler goes there to see certain unique objects. He sees them, enjoys them, is entranced by them, leaves them with regret and a tender memory, and is glad to get out of Spain. There are six things to see: the Alhambra [better say Granada], the Seville Cathedral and Alcazar, the Mosque of Cordova, Toledo and its cathedral, the Gallery at Madrid, and Monserrat. The rest is mainly monotony and weariness." Has not Mr. Warner forgotten the old port and cathedral of Barcelona, one of the finest in Europe; the charm of Tarragona and Poblet; the costumes and fruit market of Valencia? Of course the others are the plums of the pudding. The great trouble with Spain, from the standpoint of the traveler, is not the lack of objects of interest, but that it is inhospitable. There are few cushions, and little that is gracious and homelike. Needless annoyances abound. In the presence of the great sights which have been mentioned, one can put up with these; but they put a heavy discount on the average attractions, which otherwise would fascinate. In general, our author is right when he says, "In Spain the traveler is pretty certain to be rubbed the wrong way, most of the time. He is conscious of an atmosphere of suspicion, of distrust, of contempt, often," and always, we might add, even at his dinner, of bad tobacco.

Mr. Hale's "Seven Spanish Cities" is a random, racy, and a trifle romancing little book, packed full of rather rose-colored information and jolly good-nature. He is clearly in love with Spain. He is never rubbed the wrong way while there; indeed, one is very sure that it would be an extremely difficult matter ever to rub Mr. Hale the wrong way; he has so many ways and is so captivatingly good-natured in them all. His persistent optimism, however, becomes a trifle wearisome, and soon raises the suspicion, especially in the mind of one who has experienced some of the indifferent delights upon which he dilates, that Mr. Hale's Spain is the product of Mr. Hale's exuberant disposition to make everything Spanish the best. He has been a week in Spain, and has "yet to see the first flea," and this in summer! One envies Mr. Hale many things, but not the least among these is his cuticle. He found no liars, but a "very civil, friendly, self-respecting, and thoughtful people, ready to oblige, and not seeking the usual European pence or shilling." Did Mr. Hale escape counterfeit money and the supercilious contempt of Spanish bankers and officials? But Mr. Hale is in holiday mood: "the restorations of the Alhambra are so perfect that they need a trained eye to tell where they begin;" the rust on the pavement is "the blood-stain where the thirty-six Abencerrages chiefs were killed;" the almost hideous elaboration and deformity of richness in the Cartuja at Granada strike him as making the vestry "perhaps the finest room in Europe;" the king is a "young man admirably fitted for his delicate position,—one of the most interesting and remarkable men in Europe." Mr. Hale jocosely remarks that he had no opportunity of talking politics with the king, as the king did not send for him. It was a great pity, for in view of the recent conduct of this interesting but very weak and pleasure-loving young man it would have been of the greatest value, if he could have heard and followed the sound advice which Mr. Hale would certainly have given him. But with this general discount, that it is far too rose-colored, Mr. Hale's book is direct, bright, and thoroughly readable. No one must take it as gospel, unless he is very sure he has Mr. Hale's traveling temperament. He must not expect to find in Seville a hotel equal to the best to be seen in Europe for two dollars a day for everything. He must not expect to find an interpreter at the railway stations. He must expect that in general Spain and the Spaniards will treat him as though he had no business there, and that they will not put themselves out for him a hair's breadth. A good average for the ordinary traveler about to visit Spain would be struck by taking three parts of Mr. Warner's book and one part of Mr. Hale's, and simmering them together over a slow fire of small expectations. We are glad Mr. Hale did not go to the bull-fight, but that he did go to church; that he investigated worship, politics, and education, and gives some good statistics upon them; that he went to Palos, or rather La Rapida, and tells us about Columbus; and finally, that he took the diligence route north, over the Pyrenees, which is sure some day to be vastly popular, and which he describes with inimitable charm.

This brings us to Dr. Vincent's little book, with its three or four maps and as many etchings, which is not so much about Spain proper as about the Basque-Land. It is carefully written, and is full of easy description of Bayonne, Biarritz, San Sebastian, the Pyrenees, miracle-working Lourdes, and ancient Carcassonne. We are given delightful glimpses

into the history, language, literature, and customs of the Basques, — the broken survivors of nobody knows how many centuries of conquest, the aboriginal freemen, and, ethnologically, the most interesting people of Europe. We have graphic and none too witching description of beautiful San Sebastian, the great watering-place of fashionable Madrid, with its fascination of sea and sky and sunshine. We are taken far up among the mountains, to the birthplace and monastery of Loyola, and are impressed with the deathlike horror of Jesuitism. A glimpse of Pau is given us, and Lourdes, with its hundreds of thousands of modern pilgrims coming on *trains de piété* and its stacks of crutches and votive offerings, is vividly set forth. Dr. Vincent is the only author we have seen who has done even tolerable justice to the merits of the Spanish flea, — especially the flea of Basque-Land. He remarks that this flea "partakes of the hardy, enterprising, indomitable character of the Cantabrian. Like the Basque mountaineer, the Basque flea has successfully resisted the enervating influences of modern civilization. He is the one drawback to the pleasure of a summer on the Cantabrian coast, except to those happily constituted insensate cuticles on which the poison produces no effect." Has Dr. Vincent fortunate Mr. Hale in mind?

The Pyrenees offer a capital field for a cheap and fresh summer excursion. Let a student or overworked business man who wants the adventure and invigoration of a mountain tramp brush up his French, take one of the Bordeaux line of steamers from New York, — excellent Clyde-built ships, — and in twelve days at most he can be in the heart of the Pyrenees, at Eaux Bonnes or Luz, with small expense, in the midst of scenery rivaling that of Switzerland, with bracing air, comfortable inns, and unhackneyed people and customs.

Daniel Merriman.

THE WORKS OF ORVILLE DEWEY, D. D. With a Biographical Sketch. New and Complete Edition. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1883.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND LETTERS OF ORVILLE DEWEY, D. D. Edited by his daughter, MARY E. DEWEY. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1884.

We join together in this notice two works, independent of each other, and yet closely related. The first is a selection from the writings of Dr. Orville Dewey, making a volume of more than eight hundred pages. The other is a smaller volume, containing an Autobiography, covering, in a rapid way, nearly the whole of Dr. Dewey's long life, which is still more fully illustrated by his letters, and by notes and connecting passages from the pen of his daughter, Miss Mary E. Dewey.

Dr. Dewey was born in a farm-house in the pleasant town of Sheffield, among the Berkshire Hills, March 28, 1794, and died in the same town, March 21, 1882. Seven days more would have brought him to his eighty-eighth birthday. He serves thus as a fresh illustration of the fact that a half-way invalidism through a large part of one's years is not at all inconsistent with a very long life. In the early part of his Autobiography he gives facts and incidents showing a coarser and rougher style of life and manners, during his boyhood, in the country towns of New England, than now prevails. There are many men yet living who will confirm the truth of his statements on this point.

The childhood and youth of Dr. Dewey were passed under the minis-

try of Dr. Ephraim Judson, who went from Taunton to Sheffield in 1789, and continued there in the ministry until his death, in 1813, at the age of seventy-six. Dr. Judson was a prominent man in the Congregational ministry, and a part of his business was to take theological students into his family and instruct them in divinity. Dr. Dewey's recollections of him as the minister of his childhood and youth were not pleasant, though he gives him credit for a kindly heart under a rough exterior.

His daughter, in her brief introduction to the Autobiography, says that her father was "heavily handicapped in his earlier running by both poverty and Calvinism." We venture, however, to think that "poverty," such as he had, which was not severe, and "Calvinism," were both ministers of strength to him rather than of weakness. The Unitarian divines of the early part of the present century, such as Dr. William E. Channing, Dr. Joseph S. Buckminster, Dr. John T. Kirkland, Dr. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, Dr. Joseph Tuckerman, Dr. James Walker, Dr. John G. Palfrey, Dr. Francis W. P. Greenwood, Jared Sparks, LL. D., the subject of this present sketch, and others, passed their days of childhood and youth during the old New England régime. They grew up under the Congregational ministry of the former days, and the Calvinistic elements operating about them were doubtless of varying degrees of intensity. But we have never discovered that the men so reared, for intellectual strength, for scholarly habits, and for sweetness of disposition, were not fully equal to those who were started on their way since the sun of religious liberty is supposed to have risen. Whatever the defects of Calvinism may be, or may have been, it cannot be charged that it has not, on both continents, from generation to generation, reared men, in large numbers, of great compass and strength.

The following is a brief outline of Dr. Dewey's life. After his education in the district schools of Sheffield, his labor on the farm, and his preparation for college, he entered Williams College, Sophomore class, in 1811, and was graduated in 1814. He was the first scholar in his class, notwithstanding a trouble in his eyes, for a long period of his course, made him dependent on the eyes of some one else. In Williams College he was converted in the thorough old-fashioned way. He entered heartily into the religious life of the college, and gave up his idea of the profession of law for that of the ministry. After a year in teaching and a year in business in New York, in 1816 he entered Andover Theological Seminary, and was graduated in 1819. Then, for a few months, he was employed as an agent of the American Education Society. In 1820 he preached without settlement for a year in the old Congregational church in Gloucester. Then for two years he became the assistant of Dr. Channing, in Boston. In December, 1823, he was ordained, and set over the Unitarian church of New Bedford, Dr. Joseph Tuckerman preaching the ordination sermon. Here he continued, with some interruptions from ill-health and foreign travel, till 1834, when he retired to his native Sheffield for rest and recuperation. In 1835 he was settled over the Second Congregational Church in New York, now known as the Church of the Messiah, Dr. James Walker preaching the installation sermon. In New York he had among his parishioners Peter Cooper and William Cullen Bryant. He remained here until 1849, when he retired again to his old home in Sheffield, broken in health and seeking rest.

In this retirement, he was invited by Mr. John A. Lowell to prepare a course of lectures to be given before the Lowell Institute, which he did.

They bore the general title of "Lectures on the Problem of Human Destiny." These lectures were afterwards delivered in many of our large cities, and were repeated, by request of Mr. Lowell, before the Institute. He also prepared another course for the Institute under the title "Education of the Human Race." These were also given in other places. From this time on to the close of his life his home was mainly at Sheffield, though he lived for short periods at Washington, D. C., where the office of Chaplain in the Navy was given him, at Charleston, S. C., and at Boston. In the latter place he filled, for a time, the pulpit of the South Green Church, — Dr. Young's. He gave his dwelling at Sheffield the name of St. David's, in token of his Welsh ancestry and in honor of the patron saint of Wales. In his Autobiography, he tells of a discovery he made while traveling in Wales: "I found that our name had an origin of unsuspected dignity, not to say sanctity, being no other than that of Saint David, the patron saint of Wales, which is shortened and changed in the speech of the common people into Dewi."

The volume of Dr. Dewey's works, published last year by the American Unitarian Association, to which reference has been made, is a gathering together in one of volumes before published under the personal supervision of the author. The first publication was in 1846, the second in 1864, and the last in 1876. The history of the present volume is briefly stated in the preface, as follows: "Very early after the death of Dr. Dewey many requests came, both from this country and from England, that the American Unitarian Association should publish a dollar edition of his works, uniform with a like edition of Dr. Channing's works. We ought especially to mention an official letter received from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. It seemed desirable, both on account of the great and permanent value and interest of the works themselves, and also from the position and influence which Dr. Dewey had acquired and maintained in our body during a long and useful life, that these requests should be complied with."

The reader, opening this volume, and taking the most cursory glance at its contents, would be apt to conclude that its author was, by nature and habit, a thinker. The slightest survey of the topics treated would suggest that no other than a man of a thoughtful and philosophical turn of mind would be the author of such a book. And if, on closer examination, the reader should find himself not always agreeing with the writer, it would not change his conviction that he was holding converse with a man of right earnest and solid thought.

The estimate put upon his writings by his Unitarian brethren may be gathered from one or two sentences in the preface: "With the possible exception of Dr. Channing, no person occupied a more prominent position in the early annals of American Unitarianism than Dr. Dewey. As a preacher of practical truth to tried and tempted men and women, he had an almost unique power."

As a Unitarian thinker and preacher, Dr. Dewey kept himself far nearer to the old body of New England faith and doctrine than have many of his brethren of the later years. In his "Discourses upon Questions in Controversial Theology and Practical Religion," he defines the Unitarian belief thus: —

I. "We say, in the first place, that we believe 'in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost,' claiming, at the same time, that this does not mean or imply the doctrine of the Trinity.

II. "We believe in the atonement. That is to say, we believe in what that word and similar words mean in the New Testament. . . . We believe that Jesus Christ 'died for our sins,' that he 'died the just for the unjust,' that 'he gave his life a ransom for many,' that 'he is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world,' that 'we have redemption through his blood.'

III. "In the third place, then, we say that we believe in human depravity; and a very serious and saddening belief it is, too, that we hold on this point. We believe in the very great depravity of mankind, in the exceeding depravation of human nature.

IV. "From this depraved condition, we believe, in the fourth place, that men are to be recovered by a process which is termed in the Scriptures regeneration. We believe in 'regeneration, or the new birth.'

V. "We believe, too, in the fifth place, in the doctrine of election. That is to say, again, we believe in what the Scriptures, as we understand them, mean by that word.

VI. "In the sixth place, we believe in a future state of rewards and punishments. We believe that sin must ever produce misery, and holiness must ever produce happiness.

VII. "Once more, and finally, we believe in the supreme and all-absorbing importance of religion."

These heads of discourse are carefully guarded, but, after all the qualifications are annexed, they show an order and style of doctrinal thought not common, we think, in the Unitarian pulpits of the present day. He was naturally conservative. His daughter says of him, "His clinging to the miraculous element in the life of Jesus, while refusing to base any positive authority upon it, is equally characteristic of him, arising from the caution, at once reverent and intellectual, which made him extremely slow to remove any belief, consecrated by time and affection, till it was proved false and dangerous."

Dr. Dewey's "Autobiography and Letters" reveal wit, playfulness, good humor, love of anecdote, merriment even, to a degree hardly to be expected from the grave and serious character of his ordinary writings. This habit of mind he might very naturally have copied from those supposed gloomy divines of the earlier New England generations. In his Autobiography he relates a story touching Dr. Joseph Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Conn., which we do not remember to have before seen, and with this we will close this notice. Dr. Dewey was apologizing for an uncle of his, who used to say rough things *of* and *to* ministers, but who was, nevertheless, a tender husband and father. "It reminds me," said Dr. Dewey, "of an anecdote related of old Dr. Bellamy, of Connecticut, the celebrated Hopkinsian divine, who was called into court to testify concerning one of his parishioners, against whom it was sought to be proved that he was a very irascible, violent, and profane man; and as this man was, in regard to religion, what was called in those days 'a great opposer,' it was expected that the doctor's testimony would be very convincing and overwhelming. 'Well,' said Bellamy, 'Mr. — is a rough, passionate, swearing man, — I am sorry to say it; but I do believe,' he said, hardly repressing the tears that started, 'that there is more of the milk of human kindness in his heart than in all my parish put together.'"

This anecdote may serve a double purpose: that of showing the kindly and generous impulses of Dr. Bellamy, and at the same time showing Dr. Dewey's readiness to report favorably of one of those old Calvinistic divines with whom he had parted company.

Increase N. Tarbox.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNKNOWABLE, as expounded by HERBERT SPENCER. By WILLIAM M. LACY. Philadelphia: Benjamin F. Lacy, 121 South Seventh Street. 8vo, pp. 235. 1883.

Mr. Lacy states the doctrine of "the Unknowable" to be that "all without the sphere of consciousness is, in respect of its nature, — that is, the sum of its attributes minus its existence, — absolutely unknowable." He first proceeds to test the possibility of establishing unknowableness as such; from this point of departure to examine the inductive argument as applied to the explanation of the origin of the universe and of causation; also (as applied) to our ideas of space, time, matter, motion, and force. Following the critique in regard to these, he raises the question as to the validity of self-knowledge, and the nature of consciousness and of mental substance, and the competency of a merely "transfigured realism" as confronted by the problems of realism. These inductive investigations are supplemented by deductive inquiry into the capacity of the mental process of comprehension to reach the real as well as the phenomenal; whether the unconditioned is strictly unthinkable, and what the nature of "unknowable" existence; what the true idea of "life," and whether thought actually transcends consciousness. These discussions, inductive and deductive, are succeeded by a chapter on the reconciliation of science and religion, which completes the work.

As to Mr. Spencer's claim that "the Unknowable" has "existence," but is unconditioned, it is argued in reply that knowledge is involved in the assertion of existence in distinction from non-existence; and that to declare "the Unknowable" unconditioned involves in regard to it even a higher degree of intelligence. To the farther claims that this "Unknowable" is absolute, first cause, infinite, actual, and real, as distinguished from the relative, the finite, the apparent, and phenomenal, Mr. Lacy insists that "this is an amount of information we do not possess concerning many things that are called knowable." Similar implications of knowledge he exposes in Mr. Spencer's definition of "life" and in his declaration that every phenomenon is manifestation of some power incomprehensible, — such manifestation involving a recognized capacity, and, as well, an actual causing; indeed, to no part of what is unknown can we bring proof that it will never be known.

The assertion that we can have no knowledge of time as a reality, for the reason that infinite time is absolutely incomprehensible, is met thus: "The infinity of time is not conceived, as it is not discovered, by traversing time exhaustively. By conception of the *nature*, not the *quantity*, of time is its infinity discovered and represented." To similar objection that the "first cause" is "illusive" recurs answer that it were better to call it the Eternal Cause; for eternity, not beginning, is its distinguishing attribute. If causation pure and simple is unthinkable, causation by the "Unknowable" must be preëminently so. Of like tenor is his rejoinder to the claim that matter, by reason of the enigma of indivisibility, is rendered inconceivable. It is this: "To conceive the infinite divisibility of matter is but to realize that matter and indivisibility cannot exist together as substance and attribute." The argument against the recognition of motion (which reminds irresistibly of the puzzle of Zeno of Elea) is met by indicating the illicit logic of rejecting motion "because nothing *fixed* can be pointed out."

In reference to the assumptions that, while we do not know the reality, we can and do know the appearance, the author now proceeds to argue from Mr. Spencer's own admissions the inconceivableness of mere phenomenon as such. "The basis of science," says Mr. Spencer, "is the persistence of force;" and yet this acknowledges persistence of a cause which transcends our conception. Furthermore, he (Mr. Spencer) maintains that "the noumenon, everywhere named as the antithesis of the phenomenon, is throughout necessarily thought as an actuality;" "appearance without reality is unthinkable;" "an ever present sense of real existence is the very basis of our intelligence;" "the momentum of our thought carries us beyond conditioned existence to unconditioned existence;" "the very demonstration that a *definite* consciousness of the absolute is impossible to us unavoidably presupposes an *indefinite* consciousness;" "there is some ontological *nexus* whence arises the phenomenal relation we call difference." The author examines these admissions, pointing out the implications, and concludes that from the knowledge his opponent admits may be obtained the knowledge he denies, which is substantially what Mr. Lacy propounded in setting out, namely, "It is impossible to construct an argument (that the real is unknowable) which shall, without disabling itself, lead to the required conclusion."

The final chapter, in which the reconciliation of science and religion is considered, is in some respects weaker than what goes before. Comparison of subjects which are really disparate is not necessarily to be charged to Mr. Lacy. His task is to refute his opponent on his opponent's grounds. Had he passed on to consider the theory of morals and the symmetrical adjustment of such truths as Mr. Spencer assumes as axiomatic, no doubt he could have shown incoherencies equally numerous.

The author's argument is throughout courteous, lucid, and fair, and at times vigorous. We think that it will commend itself to most minds as decidedly successful.

It is easy to overestimate the amount of argumentation required for rebuttal of Mr. Spencer's agnosticism. To a great number of thinkers it is sufficient refutation to exhibit his results summarily. For not only does he deny validity of our knowledge of a Divine Being, but equally that of matter, space, time, mind; conditioned objects, as well as unconditioned, cannot be apprehended as real; things are appearances; only the outside of the cup is reached; the idea of the race, wise and unwise, being of an opposite character, is to be set aside; our intelligence of God and of everything else, as realities, vanishes as a vapor.

Xenophanes, like Mr. Spencer, claimed only to know existence. But this $\tau\omicron\ \acute{o}\nu$ was to his thought a veritable divine presence. Hegel considered the notion of *Existenz* a composite, and subjected it to searching analysis; and nature, as unfolded therefrom, became to his mind the veritable revealing of God. But even Mr. Spencer recognizes a universe evidently "everywhere alive;" every point pulsating with an infinity of vibrations; our mental substance identical with this eternal energy, from which all things proceed, — mentality, beauty, righteousness, vision, hearing, linguistic ability, personality (and he says the absolute may reasonably be interpreted as spiritualistic); this existent Reality worthy of reverence, affording, as acknowledged, a rational basis for the religions of the world.

Why, in presence of all these confessed verities, he should incline to ignore a Divine Being seems mysterious, exceptional, and is, perhaps, explicable in his own words: "I distinctly trace to my father an ingrained tendency to inquire for causes of the physical class." Mayhap, there might be added also, "and a bitter prejudice against evangelical religion." "Ingrained" is suggestive. Perhaps the extent to which Mr. Spencer is victim of his environment is by himself unknowable.

God cannot be reached by merely physical inquiries. "The god of this world" tends to crowd out the vision of the Spirit Supreme. Is there not a moral insight, a spiritual discerning, which Mr. Spencer has overlooked? His error is psychological. His agnosticism is founded on a two-fold assumption of absolute knowledge: (1) that the capacity of the mind to know is by him (absolutely) known, and (2) that, with equally (absolute) completeness, he cognizes the apprehensibility of the external world.

G. Campbell.

BEYOND THE GATES. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. 16mo, pp. 196. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884.

The charm so many found in "The Gates Ajar" is present in this book. Few will begin it without reading to the end, and the most hurried will scarcely skip a line.

At the crisis of a dangerous illness "Mary" falls asleep, "with nothing in the range of her eyes but" pictures of "the cross, the Christ, and her father." In the dream that follows and constitutes the book these three are blended in a single theme, which is expanded into an elaborate symphony. The Christ revealed through suffering and through human affections is the substance of the vision. There is an abundance of subtle speculations and glowing fancies. But even the most startling of them is plainly the outgrowth of some genuine heart-hunger which we all have felt.

Those who take up the book "to learn how the heavens go" will not easily lay it down without clearer views of "how to go to heaven." For in this dream of the Father's house many essential gospel truths are expressed with a charm that wins attention and a vigor that compels assent. The author does not prove that there is a heaven, but she assumes that there is with a fervor of conviction which, by its contagion, is more helpful than argument in resisting what is called, with rare felicity of phrase, "the pressure of fashionable reluctance to believe." She does not tell us that we cannot go to heaven until we are converted. But she makes us feel that fact as we look at Mrs. Mercy and Marie Sauvé.

The dreamer feels sure she is in heaven, not because she sees the splendors that surround her, but because she prefers the Lord's will to her own. She is among people who always think first of what the Lord gives rather than of what he denies; who never make excuses for themselves; who pray because it is natural to pray, feel a sense of perfect safety because of the Lord's nearness, and love God with all their hearts and their neighbors as themselves.

If we were like this, we know we should find heaven here; and until we become like this, Miss Phelps tells us with indubitable emphasis, we cannot find heaven there.

It is not said directly that we can hope for heaven only because Christ died for us. But Christ's self-sacrificing love is faithfully and persuasively shown to be the source of every influence by which men are brought to heaven and kept there.

On these three foundations, the reality of heaven, our need of dispositions changed into the Saviour's likeness, Jesus Christ the way, the truth, and the life, Miss Phelps has built. The superstructure, if sometimes fanciful, is always alluring, and the reader who shall be won by its beauty to step within its walls will find his feet upon the rock.

William Burnet Wright.

THE CHURCH-BOOK. Hymns and Tunes for the Uses of Christian Worship. Prepared by LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. Pp. 437. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1883.

SONGS OF PRAISE AND PRAYER. For the Sunday-School and Social Meeting. Compiled and edited by CHARLES H. RICHARDS, D. D. Pp. 222. New York: Taintor Brothers, Merrill & Co. 1883.

Hymn-books are following one another in quick succession, and in some respects with steady improvement. The hymns are devotional and of a high order of poetic merit, and the music is inexpressibly finer than the mechanical tunes of the old collections.

Very few *good old* tunes can be selected from the books in use in America till twenty years ago, while the number of good new tunes, whether restored from lost treasures or freshly composed, is continually increasing.

But the devotional education of our churches has only begun, and the book has not yet appeared which is to remain. Dr. Bacon's book has decided merits. It is printed in an attractive form; every hymn has its tune to itself; many choice tunes have been restored, of which the German "Nun danket alle Gott" is a striking example. Some noble hymns are here which are not found in any other book. A large number of tunes by Dykes, Barnby, Monk, Redhead, and Sullivan are brought into use. All this is good, and the book will promote dignity of worship where it is used. With the single exception of "Nothing but Leaves," the compiler has had the moral courage to exclude sentimental hymns.

The conspicuous faults of the book are omissions and wrong adaptations. Some of the omissions are surprising: such as, "Hark, hark, my soul, angelic songs are swelling;" "Calm on the listening ear of night;" "The head that once was crowned with thorns;" "All praise to Thee, my God, this night;" "There is a green hill far away;" "Lord of every land and nation;" "Onward, Christian soldiers;" "Christian, dost thou see them?" "O Jesus, thou art standing;" "O very God of very God and very light of light;" "I lay my sins on Jesus." It makes one homesick to miss these familiar hymns. Certain hymns are wedded to certain tunes, but Dr. Bacon, the sworn enemy of divorce, and especially when without cause, has in more than one case put them asunder. He has taken away from "Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear," its well-known "Hursley," by Monk, and has put in its place a stranger, which is indeed by Dykes, but is not one of his best. "The Son of God goes forth to war" has been cruelly torn away from its inspiring tune. "Far from my heavenly home," which is perfectly suited to the minor tune to

which it is usually sung, is set to a tune without character, and is placed among the versified psalms, where it is likely to be overlooked. "Awake, my soul, and with the sun" is set to the ponderous music of the Missionary Hymn in place of the bright, firm movement of the Morning Hymn. As a second tune is given for "All hail the power of Jesus' name," why could we not have had "Miles' Lane," which is one of the grandest congregational harmonies ever heard?

While the excellences of the book are marked, so that it ranks among the very best, these omissions and maladaptations are serious faults. It is of the right sort, but has left undone some things which it ought to have done.

Dr. Richards' little book is partly a selection from his larger manual and partly the addition of popular tunes, the object evidently being to satisfy various tastes. Much of the music cannot be too highly praised. The impetus given twenty years ago by Monk's "Hymns Ancient and Modern" has reached even the Sunday-school and prayer-meeting, for which this manual is prepared. But it is difficult to understand how a compiler who loves the best music could have made room for some of the undignified tunes which are found here. Several tunes have no character whatever, others trip along without a thought of reverence, and still others are merely jolly refrains. A popular air from Verdi's "Traviata" caracoles and capers even under the restraint of religious words. The "Marseillaise Hymn" is absurd doing duty to some verses on temperance.

The worst of it is that the stately and tender harmonies are sure to be neglected for the ditties and easy choruses. The book, as it stands, is a compromise. If a quarter of its pages could be cut out, the remainder would admirably promote education in chaste and beautiful worship.

George Harris.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

FROM D. APPLETON AND COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Early Christian Literature Primers. Edited by Professor George P. Fisher, D. D.

I. The Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists of the Second Century. By Rev. George A. Jackson. 18mo, pp. 203. 1884. 60 cents.

II. The Fathers of the Third Century. By Rev. George A. Jackson. 18mo, pp. 211. 1881. 60 cents.

III. The Post-Nicene Greek Fathers. By Rev. George A. Jackson. 18mo, pp. 224. 1883. 60 cents.

FROM CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff. A new edition, revised and enlarged. Vol. III. Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity, from Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great, A. D. 311-600. 8vo, pp. xv., 1049. 1884. \$4.00.

The International Revision Commentary on the New Testament. Edited by Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D. Vol. VI. The Epistle to the Romans. By Professor M. B. Riddle. 12mo, pp. xxxiii., 256. 1884. \$1.00.

Luther. A Short Biography. By James Anthony Froude, M. A., Honorary Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Reprinted from the Contemporary Review. 12mo, pp. vii., 90. 1884. 30 cents

Quotations in the New Testament. By Crawford Howell Toy, Professor in Harvard University. 8vo, pp. xliii., 321. 1884. \$3.50.

Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church. With an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., Dean of Westminster. New edition. With plans. 12mo, pp. 79, 422. 1884. \$2.00.

FROM BENJAMIN F. LACY, PHILADELPHIA.

An Examination of the Philosophy of the Unknowable as expounded by Herbert Spencer. By William M. Lacy. Pp. iv., 235. 1883.

FROM GEORGE H. ELLIS, BOSTON.

Martin Luther. A Study of Reformation. By Edwin D. Mead. Pp. 194. 1884. \$1.25.

FROM CUPPLES, UPHAM AND COMPANY, BOSTON.

A Memorial of John Farmer. By John Le Bosque. Pp. iv., 138. 1884. \$1.00.

FROM LEE AND SHEPARD, BOSTON.

Twelve Months in an English Prison. By Susan Willis Fletcher. 12mo, pp. ix., 478. 1884. \$1.50.

FROM TAINTOR BROTHERS, MERRILL AND COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Songs of Praise and Prayer. For the Sunday-School and Social Meeting. Compiled and edited by Charles H. Richards, D. D. Pp. iv., 332. 1883.

FROM METHODIST BOOK CONCERN, PHILLIPS AND HUNT, AGENTS,
NEW YORK.

Library of Biblical and Theological Literature. Edited by George R. Crooks, D. D., and John F. Hurst, D. D. Vol. II. Biblical Hermeneutics. 8vo, pp. iv., 781. 1883.

FROM THE AUTHOR, COHOES, NEW YORK.

The Outlines of the Mental Plan, and the Preparation therein for the Precepts and Doctrines of Christ. By L. W. Mansfield, author of "Up-Country Letters," "The Morning Watch," etc. Pp. xxiv., 187. 1883.

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